

# Aloha!

By KLAUS MEHNERT

*Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono.*

(The life of the land is preserved by righteousness.)

Motto of Hawaii.

The beautiful Hawaiian word "Aloha" cannot be translated. It means love, friendship, sympathy, farewell, and much more. The following lines are an Aloha in two ways. They are a friendly farewell to the hospitable islands on which I lived for four years, and they are also a good-bye to old Hawaii, which toward the closure of my stay was undergoing a rapid transformation, and which, if this development should continue, will disappear, never to return.

Hawaii's transformation from a south sea paradise to a naval and military fortress of first magnitude seems inevitable. The time may soon come when people, who now associate the name of Hawaii with <sup>the</sup> hula-girls and palm trees in the moonlight, will link the islands with nothing but coast artillery, bombers, and naval battles, as if Hawaii were another Gibraltar or Singapore. This is sad. There are many—too many—Gibraltars. But there was only one Hawaii. This I feel more strongly than ever in this hour of my departure from Honolulu as the Japanese liner slowly makes its way through the reef.

## DEPARTURES

Many departures have I had in my life of wandering, but never was one

like this. If, for instance, a person says, "I am now leaving Germany," it really does not mean very much. He is perhaps looking at a railway station on the Belgian border, or at the banks of the lower Elbe, or possibly at the mountains of the Brenner Pass, and each time he sees only an infinitesimal fragment of Germany. Germany itself is much more, ~~and~~ nobody has ever seen it as a whole. But here the entire island lies before me. From the lighthouse on Barber's Point to the crater of Koko Head I can see every ridge of the two parallel volcanic mountain ranges and the broad valley lying between them, filled with sugar cane and pineapple fields. In the fiery sunset the mountains and valleys are indescribably green and seem very near as the deep shadows accentuate every line. White and pearl-grey clouds float over the ranges; a pale rainbow stands over Manoa valley, and above everything is the clear blue vault of the sky.

I have hiked in Germany more widely than the majority of my countrymen, in the Black Forest and in the Heide, on the Rhine and in Upper Bavaria, in the Harz Mountains, along the Baltic coast and the river Main, yet I have only seen part of Germany. But on this island I know almost every square foot. There is no village where

I do not have some friends, no peak or vale that I have not seen from a car, on foot or from a plane, no beach where I have not played with the surf.

When you leave Stuttgart the train takes you through a tunnel, and by the time you come out of it you find yourself in Cannstatt. When you depart from Chicago you travel between high walls obstructing the view and past drab and impersonal railway stations. But here there is nothing between the radiant and many-colored island and myself—nothing but the slowly widening blue ribbon of ocean. In another nine days it will be more than three thousand miles wide.

Since the beginning of the war more Europeans have passed through Hawaii than ever before. The closing of the Atlantic through blockade and counter-blockade has made the route across the Pacific the only reliable one between the Old and New Worlds. Hundreds of European refugees look at the Hawaiian Islands from every eastbound ship, and from westbound ships returning citizens of the Axis Powers gaze upon them. But if, in transit, you spend a few hours in Honolulu, if you have a swim in Waikiki and then do some sightseeing, you have seen about as much of Hawaii as someone who has visited Shanghai has seen of China. Hawaii is more than Honolulu, and more than Oahu, the island on which Honolulu is situated. Hawaii is a complete world in itself.

### PARADISE ON A FAULT

While Eden was lost due to the sin of our ancestors, the Hawaiian paradise only exists because of a fault. From a fault in the ocean's bed the chain of volcanoes that forms the Hawaiian archipelago has worked itself up in millions of years. Omitting the smaller and more distant islands such as Niihau or Midway, the Hawaiian archipelago consists, from west to east, of six main islands: Kauai, Oahu, Molokai, Lanai, Maui, Hawaii.

The farther east they are, the younger are the islands geologically. Old Kauai has been eroded by wind and rain to such an extent that craters can no longer be found on it. It is slowly disappearing. But at the other end of the chain, Hawaii still has active volcanoes and continues to grow. Its two volcanoes, thirteen and fourteen thousand feet high, are proof of our earth's tremendous strength, which has raised their snowy summits 35,000 feet above the bottom of the sea, and goes on thrusting them ever higher.

### CANYONS AND HARBORS

The differences in geological age explain the great variety among the six islands. It is as if you had to deal with six people whose ages vary between ten and seventy-five years. Kauai, for instance, can prove its great age by its possession of a canyon of huge proportions, which in its beauty rivals the Grand Canyons of the Colorado or Yellowstone. The next island, Oahu, is old enough to have two good ports, Honolulu and Pearl Harbor. Yet anyone who sees the volcanic forms of Diamond Head, Punch Bowl, Koko Head, and other craters, will recognize from afar that Oahu is younger than Kauai.

Before the coming of the white man and his ships, Hawaii had been the main island, but, being geologically too young to have good harbors, Hawaii lost its supremacy to Oahu with its convenient port of Honolulu. Likewise, the first-rate naval port of Pearl Harbor accounts for the presence of tens of thousands of sailors, soldiers, and airmen on Oahu to-day.

The island of Molokai is famous for its leper home, Kalaupapa, where several hundred lepers spend their last years on a spot so lovely that it has few rivals in the world. Kalaupapa seems to have been fashioned by nature for its tragic purpose. It is a peninsula situated a few feet above sea level and can be reached only by a narrow trail, which leads from the high plateau



of Molokai almost perpendicularly down more than two thousand feet of cliff. At first sight the settlement hardly differs from any other: the patients live in single or group houses, they have their cinema, post office, and school, and some even bring their Fords along to amuse themselves by driving the jalopies over the few square miles of the peninsula.

For a long time Lanai was hardly inhabited, until one of the big companies of Honolulu decided to plant pineapple on it. Today Lanai is an example of planned economy. The town, Lanai City, is built according to a clear plan; on every side extend the blue-green fields of pineapples; in a small, cliff-bound port large barges wait to carry their fragrant freight to the Honolulu canneries, and from a primitive airport planes fly daily to the other islands.

#### *LIFE AND DEATH*

Maui boasts of the largest dormant crater in the world, Haleakala. Never have I seen life and death closer together than when I stood on its 10,000 foot rim: behind me lay the ever-moving blue ocean, its distant surf encircling the deep-green western part of Maui with a collar of fine white lace; and farther west the chain of the other islands, all green and all with white, shaggy clouds on their mountain peaks—a picture alive with charm and color. But ahead of me extended the enormous crater, the bottom of it more than two thousand feet below. The entire picture was one of deadly emptiness—one might have been staring at a landscape on the moon or into the end of all things.

Finally there is Hawaii, which, though the youngest of the islands, has paradoxically retained the most of ancient Hawaiian life. There, living in tents, we spent an entire summer with a group of students. In a Hawaiian village we led for a while the life of the natives, existing on fish, and fruit which dropped into our laps, playing in the surf for hours with the

village children. In a Hawaiian canoe we sailed to Kealakekua Bay, once a large settlement. There, a hundred and sixty years ago, the angry Hawaiians killed their discoverer, Captain Cook, when they began to suspect that he was not their god Lono for whom they had taken him. For many days we hiked over the tremendous lava flows, and through forests of fifteen or twenty foot tree-ferns; in a plane we flew over the crater of erupting Maunaloa; and we pitched our tents under the palm trees of the City of Refuge. Here on the most romantic spot on Hawaiian soil, on a tongue of lava reaching into the ocean, stands the sacred Heiau (temple) which in olden days offered refuge and shelter to anyone who was persecuted.

#### *MOUNTAINS AND BEACHES*

As a German I love to hike. Shortly after my arrival in Honolulu I joined a hiking club, and often on Sundays I took to the mountains. Off the broad and excellent motor roads, built partly for the sake of the army's quick movements, lies the real Hawaii. You can set foot with confidence into every jungle, you need not fear snakes or poisonous insects. The trails lead through tropical valleys with banana trees and heavily fragrant guava trees, and the slopes, even where perpendicular, are overgrown with green. The trails lead over narrow ridges from where, thousands of feet below, you can see the Pacific on all sides. They lead through canyons and to foaming waterfalls gnawing their way through the rock. To swim naked in a cool mountain pool under a waterfall surrounded by tropical growth: this to me will always be the quintessence of my wanderings on Oahu.

I developed in Hawaii an entirely new relationship to water. The much-praised beach of Waikiki is, of course, as is everything of which advertisement has taken a hold, a disappointment. But elsewhere swimming on Hawaiian beaches with their perfect

water temperature is an unforgettable experience. If you wish to have the full enjoyment of it, you must live for some time right on the beach where you do not have to make up your mind, "Now I shall go swimming," or make any other effort such as getting a car out of the garage. I remember Moku-leia where I frequently participated in student camps. The camp site is on a lonely part of the island, with no good roads leading to it. There you live all day in your bathing trunks, and between every game or meeting you run into the ocean with a sensation of jumping into champagne. The coral reef is some 200 yards from the beach. There the waves break, and hurl themselves with foaming crowns thunderingly against the sand. There is no happier animal sensation than, with your skin aglow from the rays of the sun, to run into the surf, to be seized by the mighty yet friendly giant arms of the waves and to be thrown in somersaults through the breakers. And to those who with diving-glasses explore the depths near the reef a new world of forms and fish is revealed.

#### NO WORD FOR WEATHER

The old Hawaiians had no word for "weather." For them it was as small a problem as his liver is for a healthy person. They simply knew that it rains in the mountains where the high altitude condenses the moisture of the trade winds to clouds and rain, and that on the beaches the sun shines. From the ranges to the coast the annual rainfall gradually decreases, and you can have a house with any amount of rainfall you may desire. Hence the islands possess the second wettest spot in the world, Mt. Waialeale on Kauai with more than 400 inches of rain a year; yet at the same time you might think you were in the deserts of Arizona when you pass through coastal areas where only cactus grows. On the whole, the weather is so reliable that a man in our valley used to direct guests who came to him for the first time by saying, "You will find the white

house on your left just after the second shower."

There is a Hawaiian word for only one type of weather. In "Kona"-weather (Kona—south) the refreshing trade winds from the northeast cease to blow and the warm and moist equatorial wind brings high humidity and fatigue. Fortunately the Kona is an exception. This last year the trade winds blew with hardly an interruption from November to June. Apart from the Kona the weather is practically the same all year round, a warm spring lasting twelve months, with the average temperature in August only six degrees above that in January. When I took my house near the university a few years ago the first thing I did was to remove the glass windows which ran all around the house. Since then my walls have consisted mainly of mosquito screens. Day in, day out, Hawaii falls asleep under the stars and awakes in sunshine.

#### MELTING-POT OF RACES

As to the people? Nowhere in the world can you study race problems better than in Hawaii, where you have not only Hawaiians, whites of all nationalities (called haoles), Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and negroes, but also their increasingly mixed descendants, all of them living peacefully side by side. Even between the older Chinese and Japanese—not to mention the young ones—the present bitter conflict in the Orient has had no more serious consequences than a fight in an old men's home.

Apart from the races, the population of the islands consists of three groups. First there are the inhabitants of the city of Honolulu, 150,000, a third of the archipelago's entire population. This group includes, as in every town in the world, rich and poor, big merchants and little shopkeepers, workmen, officials, shoeshiners, and a hundred other professions. Surprisingly many people are, in one way or another,

part of the enormous educational system. The islands are full of public and private schools in which 110,000 pupils are taught by 4,000 teachers. The university alone has 2,600 students.

### THE "BIG FIVE"

The second group of the population lives in the country and consists mainly of the employees and laborers on the large sugar cane and pineapple plantations. Capitalism in Hawaii is decidedly monopolistic. Five large firms ("The Big Five") control almost the entire economic life of the islands, from plantations to department stores, hotels and shipping lines. Yet the standard of living of the largely Oriental laboring class compares favorably with the standard of living not only in the countries from which most of these laborers came, but also with that of plantations on the American mainland.

The laborers, to be sure, as long as they remain in the islands, are dependent on their employers and have little say. But in return they are, it seems to me, well provided for with living quarters, cheap stores, free hospitals, and with movies, sports grounds, and dance halls. Because Hawaii is in the hands of a few closely interrelated families and firms, and because it is a small and easily controllable group of isolated islands, it is an example of a well-organized planned economy. It may offer little freedom to the individual; but it holds itself responsible for him and looks after him. The planning of employment (particularly important in periods of economic crises), the conservation of the water resources of the entire archipelago, the development of new types of sugar and pineapple, the systematic combat of insect pests or similar dangers on an islandwide scale, the very serious problem of feeding the islands in case of war and blockade, these and many other tasks the large firms, in close co-operation with the Government and the armed forces, are trying to accomplish.

### KAPU

Honolulu and the plantations might have continued to live in their old style for a considerable time to come. It is the third population group which is responsible for the rapid transformation of the islands' character. To this group belongs everyone having to do with defense. Already Hawaii is by far the most heavily fortified place under the American flag. If this development continues at the speed of the last few months the changes will be enormous. One part of Oahu after another—and lately even of the other islands—is being taken over for military reasons. The number of beaches available for swimming is shrinking steadily.

For years there was a standing joke for newcomers. They were shown the innumerable "PRIVATE KAPU" signs all over the islands, particularly in front of beautiful estates, and they were told that Kapu was the name of a wealthy doughboy who owned huge properties in Hawaii. Of course, Kapu is the Hawaiian word for the better known Tabu (forbidden) and the signs simply mean "PRIVATE PROPERTY. KEEP OUT." Now it seems that the joke might become a bitter truth. More and more land is being closed to civilians, and the military might put a "GENERAL KAPU" in place of the Private.

Every ship is bringing more troops, tanks, engineers, and laborers for military construction. An entire new city has grown, almost overnight, around Pearl Harbor, to house part of these ever-arriving masses, and the shelves of the new department store of Sears Roebuck are half-empty due to the difficulty of obtaining shipping space for non-military purposes. A few years ago there was nothing in Pearl Harbor but a few submarines and destroyers which looked as if they were on vacation. Today you can see there, packed in close ranks, the gray bodies of the main portion of the U.S. fleet. And if in the evenings you walk through



the streets of downtown Honolulu you might think that a snowstorm had hit the city, so numerous are the white uniforms of the sailors.

### BLACKOUTS IN PARADISE

The spirit of Old Hawaii is desperately trying not to be overrun and crushed by this new development. The people pretend that all this does not concern them, that a clear line can be drawn between the civilian and military worlds, that these two can live peaceably side by side. But how much longer will this be possible? Is Old Hawaii fighting a losing battle? For instance, two years ago, for the first time in America, an entire area, the Hawaiian Islands, had a blackout. The spirit of Hawaii won the first round and turned the evening into a gay celebration. All over Honolulu "blackout parties" were given. I too was invited to one of them. We played various blackout games: the person who could guess most accurately the exact moment at which the blackout began (the authorities had not divulged it before) received a prize; during the blackout every guest was given a dish with ten different things and a set of five drinks, all of which he had to identify in the dark. Some young girls used blackout parties as an opportunity to announce their engagements — these were the "blackout brides." So many thousands of people had driven to the hills, the better to view the blackout spectacle, that it took hours to solve the unexpected traffic problem.

The second blackout a year ago was celebrated much less gaily, and the third, before my departure, had almost completely lost the glamour of the first. There were not even any "blackout brides," for the women of Honolulu had been organized into Red Cross units and were mobilized for the duration of the blackout. And while they were dressing imaginary wounds, they discussed the number of cans they had stored or the vegetables they had planted against a possible blockade.

### PARADISE LOST?

Hawaii has succeeded in conquering and assimilating with its charm those people from outside who have made the islands their home during the last century and a half. On the whole the influx was so slow that usually one group had been "Hawaiianized" before the next arrived. Even with regard to the Orientals this was the case to a surprising extent. But at the present pace this will hardly be possible in the future. Larger and larger masses of people are being brought to Hawaii from the American mainland. These do not come to stay and to abandon themselves to the Hawaiian atmosphere. They come for a short term of military duty or to build airports and subterranean oil tanks. Old Hawaii puts up a spirited fight. Well-meaning people have started a movement of inviting sailors and soldiers to local homes to acquaint them with the ideals of Hawaii. This will be a difficult task.

I have particular reason to wish for the preservation of the spirit and charm of Hawaii. Its hospitality and broad-mindedness are unique in the world today and I have enjoyed them to a special degree. While the attitude of the United States towards Germany from month to month became more hostile and bitter, Hawaii allowed me, the only German citizen on the islands, peacefully to continue my work at the university. Among more than two thousand students who have taken my courses during the four terms since outbreak of the war, there was not one who ever showed any sign of hostility. After my last lecture, in which I explained my resignation from the university by my loyalty to the German people and by the unfortunate, growing German-American tension, the students put a flower *lei* around my neck and heartily applauded. Such is the spirit and the Aloha of Hawaii.

### THE MESSAGE OF HAWAII

So it is with a sad heart that I watch the mountains of Oahu disappear into

the dusk. Will the steadily mounting waves of fear, suspicion, and hatred eventually inundate even this island paradise, forcing it to abandon its mission as the meeting-ground of nations and races, as the cross-roads of civilizations and cultures?

I sincerely hope this will not happen.

Today more than ever the world needs a symbol of peace and fairness, of the will to understand other people and of the ability to get along with them—the symbol of Aloha.

In Hawaii I have found it. I will treasure it as the most valuable gain of my stay in the islands. I will try to carry its message abroad by making it a part of *The XXth Century*, the new magazine I plan to publish in Shanghai.

Will it not be an experiment to publish—on the second anniversary of the greatest of all wars—a magazine devoted to genuine understanding rather than hatred, to fair and sane discussion rather than one-sided argument? The walls of political, ideological, and econ-

omic differences between the nations have grown to terrifying height. It becomes daily more urgent that an increasing number of people should be bold enough to penetrate these walls of hatred and suspicion, wise enough to know that our world is formed by divergent forces and not by one-sided decisions of any single group, and keen enough to see not only the urgent today but also the great yesterday and the still greater tomorrow. For one day this war will end, and what will follow must be based on knowledge which the war has obscured and on thoughts which in the present over-emphasis on action have not yet been voiced. It is to such knowledge and thought that *The XXth Century* will be dedicated.

The ship's gong calls for supper. Into the sea I throw dozens of leis given to me by friends on the pier according to the island custom. If I may believe the promise of Hawaiian legend, this means that I shall see the islands again.

Aloha, Hawaii.

# RUSSIA AND THE GREAT WAR, 1914-1917

By Dr. OSKAR P. TRAUTMANN

*The generation which still remembers the Great War frequently looks back and compares or contrasts the events of then and today. Future historians, we may be certain, will devote much time and energy toward the investigation of the similarities and differences between the Great War and present events.*

*The following story of Russia and the Great War is of particular interest as it was written shortly before the outbreak of the German-Soviet war. The author intended it to be a historical study and not a parallel to the present war. All the more interesting are the thoughts provoked by it when we read it now. Even the Russian names for the war of 1914 and 1941 are identical—"The Second War for the Fatherland." (The first was that of 1812 against Napoleon, the second in Tsarist terminology was the one of 1914. That war, however, is denounced by the Bolsheviks as an "Imperialist" war, and hence according to their reckoning the present war is the second one.) The present problems of Poland, of the Balkans, of Turkey and the Straits, of Russia's relations with Great Britain—they all loom closer when we remember their role in the last war.*

*The author is particularly well-equipped to write on international affairs as he has them at his finger-tips, being himself an eminent diplomat with almost forty years to his credit in the German diplomatic service. His first foreign post was the capital of the Tsars, St. Petersburg, and all through his career, be it in the Foreign Office in Berlin or in diplomatic positions abroad, he has preserved his enthusiastic interest in Russian problems and his knowledge of the Russian language. Last year, Dr. Trautmann published a book on the history of Russian foreign policy, for which, due to his position, he was able to use many official and private sources. The title of the Book is "The Singers' Bridge" after the colloquial name for the Tsarist Foreign Ministry located at the so-called Singers' Bridge in St. Petersburg.*

*Since 1921 Dr. Trautmann has been intimately connected with events in the Far East, first in Japan, and since 1931 as Minister and later as Ambassador to China. In the winter of 1937/1938 his prominent role in the discussion for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Japanese conflict created much attention.—K.M.*

## CHANCE AND NECESSITY

A well-known surgeon, when lecturing on injuries to the arteries of the neck, used to tell his pupils that the World War might have been avoided if there had been a surgeon in the retinue of the assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Serajevo who had known how to stop a carotid haemorrhage by quick action. This anecdote shows the entire absurdity of placing importance on mere chance in history.

Ortega y Gasset has made some excellent observations about chance and history. He considers it impossible to foresee whether lightning will strike a tree with its fiery sword, "but we know that cherry-trees will never produce poplar-leaves." It is indeed an accident that a man of Caesar's peculiar mentality should have lived in the first century before Christ. A Roman of the second century B.C. could not have foreseen the individual destiny represented by Caesar's life; but he could



well have prophesied the dawn of a Caesarian era in the first century. Cato predicted quite accurately what was about to happen at that time.

According to Ortega we have grasped a situation historically if we have seen it arise of necessity from a previous one. This conception of necessity can be given not only a psychological but also an astrological-fatalistic meaning. Spengler quotes Napoleon's words: "I feel myself driven toward a goal that I do not know."

The historian is a "reversed prophet," and Spengler has predicted that the World War was only the preparation for a new Caesarian era for mankind. The accidents leading to its outbreak have no special significance; nevertheless the entire course of events has something psychologically inexorable. In this sense the words of the President of the Imperial Duma (the Russian Parliament), Rodsianko, are particularly characteristic. At the beginning of the war he addressed the historic meeting of the Duma on August 8, 1914, as follows: "We all know very well that Russia did not want a war, that designs of conquest are foreign to the Russian people, *but Fate itself has chosen to involve us in war.*"

### SAZONOV

The man who held the tiller of Russian foreign policy when the Empire of the Tsars entered upon its greatest catastrophe, the World War, was Foreign Minister Sazonov. He impressed foreign diplomats with whom he came in contact as a sober, deliberate man, who, without wishing to shine by his wit, knew exactly what he wanted. On the other hand we know that he was a sickly, excitable man, filled with a burning Russian patriotism which almost bordered on fanaticism. He is credited with intellect—he had the face of a fox—but at the same time it is emphasized that he lacked judgment, admittedly a desirable attribute in a Foreign Minister. His career allowed him to develop in the seclusion of rather

insignificant positions. It is possible that he was only made Vice-Minister and later Foreign Minister because he was a brother-in-law of the Russian Premier Stolypin. He lacked knowledge of the Balkans and the Near East—the main issues of Russian foreign policy.

Probably he was excellent as Vice-Minister, just the man to deal with foreign diplomats: "Tel brille au second plan, qui s'éclipse au premier." But he did not possess the strength and the spiritual independence which the helmsman of a great empire should have had in such fateful times. Soon foreign policy under him was no longer determined in his Ministry, but by his Ambassadors and Ministers, Hartwig in Belgrade, Tcharykov in Constantinople, and Isvolsky in Paris.

### THE STRAITS

Did Sazonov really have no great leading idea for the foreign policy of Russia? This one cannot maintain, but his thinking lacked originality. He wanted to let the political situation mature gradually, and to prepare everything for the day when Russia could carry out her historic task, that is, control of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. First of all, Germany had to be rendered innocuous by discussions of a political nature, which, however, remained vague, and by economic concessions. Meanwhile the Balkan territory was prepared in such a way that Russia had only to press the button for the Balkan nations to march against Turkey. When this coincided with a complete understanding of Russia with France and England, the moment of realization had, according to Sazonov's ideas, arrived.

Sazonov was counting on the inner weakness and early disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The Tsar was apparently of the same opinion. He once spoke to the British Ambassador Buchanan on this subject and divided up the inheritance. For Germany he had reserved the German pro-

vinces of Austria as booty. Buchanan ventured to say to him that such changes in the map of Europe could hardly be made without a general war. It seems that the Tsar had never thought out the final consequences. Of all the leading men, the Russian Prime Minister Kokovzov was the only one to consider a European war as the greatest possible national disaster for Russia. He did not manage to stay in office very long; hence in the end there was no counter-weight to the patriots. As for Sazonov's feelings towards Germany, he has said in his memoirs that no one can love Germany: it is sufficient not to hate Germany. On the other hand Buchanan has testified that he was a staunch friend of England and a loyal and enthusiastic collaborator in the Anglo-Russian Entente.

#### HEADING FOR THE CATASTROPHE

Such was the man Sazonov who guided Russian foreign policy at a time when the French Ambassador in Vienna wrote illuminatingly about the state of Europe: "The feeling that the nations are moving towards the battlefields, as if driven by an irresistible force, grows from day to day". Sazonov, too, yielded to this mood. Even the German Ambassador at the Court of the Tsar expressed the opinion that, of all personalities who could be considered for the post of Russian Foreign Minister, Sazonov was still the best. This shows that by now circumstances had become more powerful than the men who guided the destinies of the nations.

Maeterlinck has written a book about termites. In it he describes a species of these industrious insects which, in many years of painstaking toil, ingeniously construct a habitation for their people. Then, more or less periodically, an inexplicable movement appears in the swarm of termites, a kind of revolution, and the whole ingenious construction is senselessly destroyed by the builders themselves.

Mankind, impelled towards the battlefields, was approaching a similar catastrophe. Would things have been different if, in place of Sazonov, there had been some other Russian Foreign Minister? From Gortchakov through Giers, Lobanov, Lamsdorff to Iswolsky and Sazonov there ran a logical chain of development, which at that moment it was no longer possible to interrupt. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had its own life, its own spirit. The men who, some by chance, some by the logic of events, stood at the head of the State, were subject to this spirit.

#### "C'EST LA GUERRE EUROPEENNE"

When Sazonov entered his office in the Foreign Ministry on the morning of July 24, 1914, Vienna's ultimatum to Serbia, the result of the assassination of the Austrian heir-apparent, had already become known in St. Petersburg during the night. It had caused tremendous excitement. "C'est la guerre européenne," were Sazonov's words to his aide, Baron Moritz Schilling. These words show something of the astrological nature of the events of those eight fateful days. Everything we see unfolding before us in a breathless rushing back and forth was nothing but the "mise en scène" of a great historical drama, as General Dobrorolsky, Chief of the Mobilization Department of the Russian General Staff, put it. If we take into account that the characters of the chance actors of this drama were already determined, we can understand that the end of the drama was a certainty.

Whole libraries have been written about the question of where the guilt for the outbreak of the war lay. This is understandable, for the guilt-clause in the Treaty of Versailles made a study of this question appear imperative. But in examining the outbreak of the war from the stand-point of Russian politics, we will not discuss the question of guilt. We will simply observe events.

A diplomat once said that there is no such thing as a moral or an immoral

policy, but only a good or a bad one. And only results can decide whether a policy is good or bad. From this point of view the entry of Russia into the European war was the greatest stupidity ever committed by the statesmen of a country in a decisive hour.

### *RUSSIAN SENTIMENT*

Has Sazonov at least the excuse that he only put the match to the fire that others had laid? One cannot deny that the war was popular in many circles of the Russian people. It was called the "second war for the fatherland" and given a similar significance to that of the war of 1812 against Napoleon.

Under the last three Russian Tsars relations with Germany had constantly deteriorated. The creation in itself of a powerful German Empire did not, according to the ideas of many Russian statesmen, correspond to the real interests of Russia; the Austro-German alliance, and the support given to the Austrian policy in the Balkans by Germany, had led to growing ill-feeling toward Germany. This ill-feeling was fanned by France. The Franco-Russian alliance, originally born of Russia's fear of political isolation, had become, almost from the beginning, an instrument of French rather than of Russian policy. In 1871 Renan had advised the French: "attiser la haine toujours croissante des Slaves contre les Allemands, favoriser le pan-slavisme, servir sans réserves toutes les ambitions russes." This advice had been followed, and this method had gradually directed Russian thought—formerly by no means anti-German—against Germany.

### *THE RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA*

The Russian intelligentsia in its political thinking felt much more attracted to the democratic ideals of the West than towards Prussianism. In the latter the Russian liberals saw a likeness to their own government. The Russian socialists saw in Germany only the stronghold of reaction, which was abetting Russia's own autocracy.

Hence there were no bonds of sympathy to be severed in order to familiarize the minds of the people with the idea of war with Germany. Here, too, the inner-political ideas of liberal Russia must not be disregarded. The manifesto of October 1905, designed to give to the Russians those basic rights which the people of the rest of Europe already possessed for generations, had, through the reactionary measures of Stolypin and his successors, shrunk to insignificance. After a period of dull despair the Russian intellectual saw in war an opportunity to gain for the people through the "Union sacrée" of people and government, that freedom of which they were being deprived. The Bolshevist-revolutionary circles, too, felt that war formed the only possible basis for a revolution; their leaders, however, were abroad and had no influence on the course of events.

The leading circles in society and high officialdom, which influenced foreign policy, had been won over to the extreme course, after the going of Kokovzov had freed them from restraint. Under the pressure of political events even the rightist groups of the Duma gave up their sympathies for Germany.

The old military bonds formerly connecting Germany and Russia had long since been loosened. Military circles looked towards friendly France. Russian Grand Dukes had gone to the French borders and had inspected the fortifications of Lorraine which were directed against Germany. Many years before the war, Russian maneuvers had been openly designed on the plan of a war against Germany and Sweden, and even foreign military attachés had been invited to attend. When a Japanese military commission visited Russia in the spring of 1914, it could observe hatred for Germany everywhere in the officers' messes.

### *PAN-SLAVISM*

With few exceptions the press had been anti-German for many decades.



It was more or less under the spell of nationalistic and Pan-Slavistic ideas, or it was opportunistic and without convictions. Pan-Slavism, rekindled by the events in the Balkans, had injected into the sentiments of Germans and Slavs a strong feeling of antagonism which really did not exist between the two peoples. One can well say that no one has understood the Slav temperament better than the Germans, whereas it has always remained foreign to the English and French.

Now the loves and hates, antipathies and sympathies of nations, however great the influence they may exert emotionally, are not, as a rule, decisive factors in politics. That they should lead to a war seems absurd. It is the opposing political interests which lead to conflicts between nations. Was it insoluble, this problem of conflicting interests in the Balkans between Russia and Austria, and Russia and Germany? Sazonov apparently thought so. Through his policy he had attained positions in the Balkans the relinquishment of which would have been equivalent to a humiliation. Sazonov was ready to risk a fight, and he believed that the advantages would be on the side of Russia.

### WAR AIMS

By the war aims of a country one can recognize whether the war was justified. What were the war aims that a Russian statesman could have in relation to Germany? Giers, one of Sazonov's predecessors, had realized long ago that the destruction of Germany's position as a power could never be in the interest of Russia; but Sazonov had forgotten this great truth. Even the question, whether the dissolution of the Austrian Empire were in the true interest of Russia, would probably still have been denied by Gortchakov. Apparently Sazonov never even considered this. The whole war policy of the Entente during the war has shown that Russia, with no political ideas of her own, became in

the end entirely the tool of French and English politics.

The best criticism of Russian war aims was pronounced by the great Russian Statesman Witte in his conversation with the French Ambassador Paléologue at the beginning of the war: "And then, what are the conquests that are dangled before our eyes? East Prussia? Doesn't the Emperor already have far too many Germans among his subjects? Galicia? Why, that is full of Jews, and then, from the day on which we annex the Polish territories of Austria and Prussia we would lose all of Russian Poland . . . What else do they let us hope for? Constantinople? The return of the Cross to St. Sophia's, the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles? That is so crazy that it is not worth wasting time over it."

The Pan-Slavistic war aims of Russia collapsed immediately, when, at the beginning of the war, the Russian steam-roller failed to make any headway. Nothing more was said of the Slav brothers or of East Prussia. Finally there was nothing left but the Dardanelles and Constantinople. But even this objective became more and more unreal as it could not be attained by Russia's own efforts. It was necessary to bring in mysticism to justify the continuation of the war for this aim. St. Sophia in Constantinople was glorified as the central idea of Russian religious life, while the purely military fight to win her had to be taken into the bargain—or was even commended—as a necessary preparatory step towards the realization of the religious ideals. Russian policy had been sacrificed to a romantic idea which was no longer based on any genuine economic or political interests.

### "NOW YOU CAN SMASH YOUR TELEPHONE"

From the confusion of those tumultuous days before the World War we will pick out one single instance. We know that on July 29 partial mobili-

zation against Austria was proclaimed in St. Petersburg. Orders had also been given for general mobilization but were countermanded at the last moment by the Tsar because of a reconciliatory telegram from the Kaiser.

There was great excitement in Russian military circles over this order and counter-order. It was feared that a partial mobilization would only confuse the carrying out of general mobilization. The Chief of the General Staff Yanushkevitch was determined to make one more effort with the Tsar on the following day to obtain a general mobilization.

Since the Tsar did not react to representations made over the telephone and also refused to receive Yanushkevitch, Sazonov came to his assistance and forced from the reluctant Tsar, after an hour's conversation on the afternoon of July 30, the order for general mobilization—which meant war. Sazonov's telephone conversation from the Peterhof Palace at four o'clock in the afternoon, in which he informed Yanushkevitch of the Tsar's decision, has become famous for his last remark: "Now you can smash your telephone." A second countermand of the order was now impossible.

#### SAZONOV AND THE TSAR

Sazonov himself has described this historic scene, at the same time revealing the motive which caused the Foreign Minister to intercede for this fateful decision of the Tsar. The Tsar was silent at the utterances of his Minister. Then he said, with a hoarse voice that betrayed deep emotion: "This means sending hundreds of thousands of Russians to their death. How can one not recoil before such a decision?" Whereupon Sazonov replied that the Tsar would be answerable neither to God nor to his own conscience nor to the future generations of the Russian people for the bloodshed which would be caused by this terrible war, forced on Russia and the whole of Europe by the evil designs of her

enemies. For those enemies were resolved to ensure their power by subjugating Russia's natural allies in the Balkans and by destroying the historic influence of Russia in that territory, all of which would mean abandoning Russia to a miserable existence entirely dependent on the despotism of the Central Powers.

It was a poor cause, especially since Austria had declared that she had no intention of disturbing the sovereignty and integrity of Serbia. The Balkans had already lived through so many phases. There had been a time when Austria had made a political vassal of Serbia under King Milan, and after the assassination of King Alexander a complete reversal had taken place. Why could Sazonov not wait? Had the Austrians taken up arms when Russia had completely changed the *status quo* in the Balkans in 1877?

Sazonov was afraid that Russia might come too late with her mobilization measures. He did not want to "confuse" his allies. Apparently he was animated by the urge toward the battlefields. So we have to record the case, probably rare in history, where a Foreign Minister—who, after all, should up till the last moment make every effort to avoid war—accelerated the decisions leading to war and released the terrible machinery that started the avalanche rolling.

The American historian Fay, in his book on the origins of the World War, emphasizes in his last chapter that it was above all Russia's general mobilization being carried out while Germany's efforts at mediation in Vienna were still going on, which brought on the final catastrophe by causing Germany to mobilize and to declare war.

Russia saved France by her offensive in East Prussia, which could not be carried out fast enough for the French, and the Russian people were then driven on again and again to greater efforts by the Allies whenever these found themselves in danger. Russia got no thanks for it, only reproaches.

### THE LURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

When in Russia the dream of the march on Berlin had faded, and the sufferings of the Russian people intensified, when the first whispers were heard in Russia that one was only fighting for the Allies, England realized that a new impetus was needed to keep Russia's policy in line. This "stimulus for the continuation of the war till victory," and till the complete exhaustion of Russia, became forthwith the object of the untiring attention of British diplomacy. The King of England casually remarked to the Russian Ambassador Count Benckendorff: "As for Constantinople, it is obvious that it must belong to you." Now began Sazonov's diplomatic task of utilizing this British hint. It was supposed to give Russian diplomacy the possibility of explaining to the people, with a semblance of justification, why it had drawn Russia into this disastrous war.

Sazonov demanded Constantinople and the Straits; he stressed these demands by threatening to resign and by emphasizing the "conséquences incalculables" which might arise from a refusal by the Allies. Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister, who was at first stunned by Sazonov's demands, could not refute such arguments. He was afraid that, if Sazonov resigned, a change might take place in Russian policy, and that the efforts of "German Agents" in St. Petersburg to conclude a separate peace with Germany might succeed. French policy, albeit reluctantly, followed that of England and agreed to the Russian demands.

England had clearly understood the situation from the beginning, and, as we have seen, it was she who had taken the initiative. One could only make the Russians pay as dearly as possible for this unavoidable concession. According to Grey's memoirs, England was convinced that after the loyalty of the Tsar toward the Allies that of Sazonov was the corner-stone of Russian policy. From Petrograd had come the demand for an agreement

containing the promise of Constantinople to the Russians, accompanied by a hint that it was absolutely necessary in order to save the situation as well as the policy of Sazonov, and in order to avoid grave complications, i.e. the conclusion of a separate peace. This was no bluff, the danger was real. The force of facts was irresistible.

England knew that, with the bait of Constantinople, she held Russia in her power, and that the latter would soon have to choose between either retaining the advantages of this pact and bowing to the will of her Allies, or betraying her Allies, which, according to Churchill's words, she could not do. That was the vicious circle in which Sazonov found himself.

### THE END OF SAZONOV

The downfall of Sazonov was brought about by the Polish question, which was the subject of violent controversy in Russian public opinion, and which Sazonov wanted to solve by declaring Poland's autonomy. He only wanted to forestall the Central Powers, unconscious of the unreality of his idea. After all, Russia had militarily lost the greater part of Poland, and furthermore, leading Russian circles had doubts as to whether the restoration of even a limited Polish sovereignty would really be of benefit to Russia. Many Russians who thought deeply about the Polish problem may have realized that it could really only be solved in co-operation with Germany.

We know that the French and British Ambassadors made an eleventh hour attempt to save Sazonov. Heavy clouds were hanging over Russia, and, even though the Entente diplomats were not afraid that Russia was heading for a separate peace, they nevertheless believed that with the going of Sazonov a new spirit would insinuate itself into the Foreign Ministry. This spirit could, should military successes not be forthcoming, become dangerous to the policy of the Entente.



### THE END OF OLD RUSSIA

It is an idle question whether, at this time, Russia could have been saved by a separate peace with Germany. The Tsar, for one, could never have brought himself to make such a weighty decision. He had "vowed before God" not to make peace as long as there was a single enemy soldier on Russian soil, and he was afraid his eternal salvation might be jeopardized if he should fail to keep his word. Moreover he was a fatalist; he believed in the decrees of destiny. When things went wrong, instead of offering resistance he would say that God had willed it so, and resign himself to God's will. He was surrounded by mystics, charlatans, and doubtful politicians; the Tsarina ruled him with her fanatic will; neither in domestic nor foreign politics could he think of anything to save the situation. And even if, after the resignation of Sazonov, he had wanted to change the course of Russia's foreign policy, he could hardly have avoided a revolution, at least a palace revolution. His fate was really inescapable.

The indications that a great revolution was brewing became increasingly serious. The scarcity of food assumed alarming proportions, public opin-

ion became more and more agitated, the Army could no longer be relied upon; there was no possible bridge leading to the Duma and the people, no bridge that could have saved the autocracy. In September 1916 the French Ambassador Paléologue dined with Kokovzov and the industrialist Putilov. Kokovzov declared: "We are facing revolution." The last act of this terrible drama of Russia was approaching:

"Last scene of all

That ends this strange eventful  
history."

The assassination of Rasputin was the first stroke of lightning which lit up the coming storm. The assassination was staged by the leader of the extreme Right, Purishkyevitch, and by a few Grand Dukes and relatives of the Imperial House. It was a useless, typically Russian effort to save the autocracy.

Rasputin had not only predicted his own horrible death, but also the destruction of old Russia: "I see many tortured people; I see not individuals but whole multitudes, I see masses, mountains of corpses, several of the Grand Dukes, hundreds of Counts. The Neva will run red with blood." His prophecy was to come true.

# BOLSHEVISM AND ITS PEDIGREE

By KLAUS MEHNERT

*This article is an attempt to analyze Bolshevism at the moment of its most decisive struggle. The analysis is not influenced by the fact that Germany and the USSR happen to be at war. It is rather a result of a study of Bolshevism extending over fifteen years. During this period the author's evaluation of Bolshevism, regardless of whatever the relations between Germany and the Soviet Union were at any given time, gradually developed toward increased skepticism of the Bolshevik experiment.*

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## THE VANTAGE POINT OF 1941

Bolshevism came into power as a result of the defeat of the Russian armies in 1914-1917. Will another defeat of the Russian armies in 1941 cause its downfall?

Should the answer be yes, tremendous problems will arise, much greater than those which are caused by the fall of the other countries during the present war. What form of state or society would take the place of Bolshevism in Russia? Who would be the owner of the vast industries developed during the last twelve years by the Soviet state? What would be the lot of some hundred million peasants who since 1929 have been forced to live and work in large, mechanized collectives, under conditions radically different from those in their old diminutive farms? What would happen to the Orthodox Church, to Islam, to the hundred and fifty national minorities within the Soviet borders, what to Central Asia and Siberia, to Russia's

foreign relations, what to several hundred thousands of Russian refugees scattered throughout the world?

It is too early to discuss these questions, although this magazine will be among the first to do that when the time arrives. But irrespective of the outcome of the struggle raging over the largest battlefield in history, one thing is certain: the character and the features of Bolshevism will be profoundly changed by the present crisis, the greatest which it had ever to face.

At this historic moment, at a turning-point in European and particularly in Russian history, we look back over the road which Bolshevism has traveled. From the vantage point of the summer of 1941, with the life and death struggle of Bolshevism against its greatest foe going on before our eyes, we can see this road more clearly than at any other previous time. Countless books and articles have been written about Bolshevism. But their great majority has been devoted too

exclusively to naive praise or emotional condemnation. In this article we are not concerned with moral evaluations. We take for granted the knowledge that Bolshevism has destroyed in twenty-four years millions of lives, and an immeasurable amount of human happiness, and also that it has built immense new industries and made vast experiments in the field of social relations.

### THE TWIN ROOTS OF BOLSHEVISM

In trying to understand and analyze the path of Bolshevism, and to discern in it more than meaningless zig-zags or the mystical workings of the law of dialectics, one cardinal fact will be stressed in these lines, a fact rarely recognized by the tens of thousands of admirers or enemies who have travelled through Russia during the past two decades—the fact that Bolshevism is the child of two totally different parents and that its history is an unending struggle between their opposing influences.

On its mother's side Bolshevism belongs to the well-known family "Emancipation." It has among its ancestors Rousseau, the men of the French Revolution, Karl Marx, Trotzky, and John Dewey. The terms and slogans most frequently heard in its mother's family were *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*, Democracy, Liberalism, Human Rights, and particularly Emancipation, Emancipation of the Woman, Emancipation of the Child, Emancipation of the Laborer—Emancipation of Everybody.

Through its father Bolshevism is a member of the old family of "The State." Here its ancestors are such men as Ivan the Terrible, Machiavelli, Peter the Great, Tsar Nicolas the First, and Stalin. In the coat of arms of this family one will find the words: Authority, Power, Discipline, Force, Plan, and above all, The Interest of the State. Hence among its ancestors two diametrically opposed ideas and many nations and races are represented. A

study of the geneological tree reveals that the paternal family is predominantly Russian, the maternal one predominantly Western. If we add to this the fact that the child was considered an extreme, not to say abnormal case by both parents, we can easily realize how many contradictions and complications there must be in the path of its life.

### THE DOUBLE HERITAGE

At first the two divergent heritages were less perceptible. It is true that even before the revolution of 1917, while the Bolsheviks were still working "underground" as a small band of mutually acquainted conspirators, there was frequent friction within their ranks. But Lenin's authority was supreme, and Lenin managed with some success to combine the two forces in his person and in his policies. Perhaps he even believed that the Soviet (—council) structure represented a satisfactory compromise between initiative from the free man below and authority of the state from above, and of course he could not foresee what Stalin was some day going to do with the Soviet system. For a while the slogan "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" bridged the gap, for originally it meant a combination of freedom and force: the free proletariat was, through its dictatorship, to force the rest of the population into submission. But by now this slogan has completely lost its original meaning; today the whole of Russia is one huge proletariat living under a dictatorship.

Any number of examples could serve to show that on the whole the history of Bolshevism is the history of the struggle between its two heritages. Let me suggest education and wages, as two which seem to me particularly significant.

### THE "WITHERING AWAY" OF THE SCHOOL

During the first years after the revolution the Soviet Union, ideologically



speaking, passed through its liberal era. The strict, conservative Tsarist school-system was turned upside down and the most modern, liberal ideas in education were introduced, largely from America. Emancipation of the child, free development of the child's genius without adult interference, these were the aims. Examinations, school-books, and students' uniforms, customary under the Tsarist regime, were immediately abolished as being strait jackets for the child's mind and body. Education was offered free of charge, the schools were opened to the children of the masses. (For students in higher institutions the government even paid for room and board.) The teachers had practically no authority, for—leaders of Soviet education maintained—their clumsy and unproletarian hands could only harm the harmonious growth of the child.

Extravagant hopes were placed in the children. They formed their own councils, directing the affairs of the school, deciding how the school-hours should be spent or whether the teacher should be purged. School-classes were dissolved. The very word "class," because of its evil connotation with class in the economic and political sense, was replaced by the word "group" (*gruppa*) and the former class-method by the so-called laboratory-method. Science, Mathematics, Russian, History, these and all other topics were thrown out, as being too narrow, too artificial, too utterly divorced from real life. Simultaneously the pedagogical leaders jubilantly announced the imminent "withering away" of the school (and of the family, for that matter). Neither teachers nor parents were to hamper the glorious growth of the Soviet child.

#### EFFICIENCY VS. SELF-EXPRESSION

The first break came in 1921. Lenin proclaimed the "New Economic Policy." A number of the revolutionary principles of the first few years were abandoned in favor of a more realistic attitude. The sobering influence of the

NEP made itself immediately felt in all other fields, including the school. It was found that the children, although having a riotously good time, were learning very little that would make them useful members of the Soviet state and intelligent workers or engineers in its factories. There was more talk now of the duties of the individual than of his privileges, and one heard more often that Russia demanded efficient mechanics and typists than that she was in need of harmoniously developed young men and women.

"The Interest of the State" set forth its demands. The liberals had to yield. Unwilling to sacrifice the positions of the first revolutionary years, the educational leaders tried to meet the new conditions by closely linking school and factory. Thus they hoped to preserve the essentials of their liberal school-system while at the same time providing the State with the desired workers. But they were never quite happy about it. They felt humiliated that they had been forced to subject their beautiful educational theories to such a banal matter as the demands of the State, and they were only waiting for the opportunity to devote themselves again wholly to the withering away of the school and to the free development of the child.

#### SOLDIERS OF CULTURE

Their chance came during the early years of the first Five Year Plan which came into being in 1928. Education again acquired an entirely Utopian character. Many schools actually withered away, for hundreds of thousands of "soldiers of culture," mostly students, neglecting their school work entirely, were roaming the country, participating in "culture campaigns," teaching peasants how to read and write, and feeling like heroes of a new age. To be the principal of a school one had to be above all a loyal Communist and preferably a factory worker.

This heyday—so far the last—of the liberal Bolsheviks came to a close in

1931. When the excitement first caused by the Five Year Plan had died down and people began to take stock, they found a most distressing situation: an unbelievable amount of energy and enthusiasm had been spent, but what had been gained? To be sure, more peasants than ever before could read and write and the "soldiers of culture" were filled with extraordinary and valuable experiences, but where were the millions of qualified laborers, mechanics, foremen, engineers, scientists, physicians, accountants, managers, and hundreds of other professions which the rapidly growing Soviet economy needed in daily increasing numbers? Somewhere something was decidedly wrong.

### "WE NEED MORE CADRES!"

A new term began to assume ever greater importance: *cadres*. This French word was originally used for the professional core or skeleton organization in an army and was extended, in the terminology of the Bolsheviks, to the professional and trained core in any section of the economic or cultural life of the state. We need more *cadres*! So said the speakers, the newspapers, the radios, so said the people when talking among themselves. The pre-war *cadres* had been largely destroyed or forced to emigrate. Meanwhile a huge Soviet industry was growing in all parts of the Union. Where were the *cadres* to turn its wheels? By 1931 the lack of *cadres* had become the central problem of the USSR.

Indeed, asked the people, why do we not have sufficient *cadres* fourteen years after the victory of the revolution? Why are the graduates of the Soviet school incapable of fulfilling the tasks set before them? The answer, given with increasing vehemence, was: because our school is all wrong, because it has lived in a Utopian world of beautiful liberal dreams instead of in a world of harsh realities. A flood of decrees and laws began to appear. (The first was the party decree of September 5, 1931; a very important one was also

that of August 25, 1932.) They sharply criticized the existing school conditions, bitterly denounced the theory of the withering away of the school, demanded more work, less play, and the quickest possible turning out of reliable *cadres*.

### THE FOURTH TURN

Within two years the educational system of the Soviet Union was again completely changed. It is not meant ironically but as a statement of fact when we say that the Soviet school of today is much more similar to the school of the Tsars than to that of the first revolutionary years.

Today there are again examinations (and the scholarships paid are differentiated in accordance with the grades). The authority of teachers and principals is fully restored. The pupils' councils which used to decide on a teacher's suitability merely exist as a relic of the past. The laboratory-method has been abolished, classes have been restored, the word "class" is back in use instead of "group." Specific subjects are taught again, even such subjects as Ancient History. The textbook has returned to favor. In the very characteristic party decree of February 12, 1933, which flayed the "wrong line" of abandoning text-books, forty-five million copies of various text-books were ordered almost overnight, and most of the printing presses of Russia had to stop whatever else they were doing in order to get the text-books out by autumn.

### THE CROCODILE CRACKS A JOKE

Soon the ideas of the Soviet pedagogues of yesterday became today's object of ridicule. I remember a cartoon in the leading humorous Soviet magazine *The Crocodile* which poked fun at the pre-text-book conditions. In Moscow there are two rings of avenues around the city center. On the inner ring runs the streetcar-line "A" and on the outer the streetcar-line "B." The cartoon showed a teacher with a group

of children standing in the street and pointing at a streetcar. "This, children," the teacher said, "is the letter A, and now I will take you to the outer ring and there we will see what the letter B looks like."

#### "FOR COMMUNIST EDUCATION" TAKES A POLL

In the Soviet Union where the press is completely regimented it can change its tenor overnight. With the same ardor with which it had formerly extolled progressive education it now praised the opposite. For a long time, for instance, the absence of examinations in Soviet schools had been a source of pride and self-acclaim. Now the re-introduction of examinations was praised as a measure of wisdom and revolutionary significance. Children as well as parents came under the influence of this new interpretation and apparently accepted it without qualms. A Soviet newspaper, *Za Kommunisticheskoye Prosvestchenye* ("For Communist Education"), took polls with gratifying results. Among other inspiring things it solemnly discovered "that 8.7 percent of the parents would whip their children if they did not pass their exams."

Even the uniforms, it was decided, were to be re-introduced, and lately—this is more serious than all the other changes—free secondary and higher education were abolished. Now the use of these schools is again confined to those who can pay for them.

So we see that education under the Soviets has had four complete about-faces, two under the influence of "Emancipation" and two under that of "The State"—pet all four in the name of the very same Bolshevism. But lest one might think that this is a peculiarity of Soviet education only, let us give another example to show that Soviet life in general went from one extreme of its heritage to the other, the turning-points again being the years 1917, 1921, 1928, 1931. Let us take, for instance, wages.

#### EQUALITY

In the first period after the revolution there was among the millions of Russians a degree of equality in wages and standard of living which is unparalleled in modern history. Money had practically no value, what counted was the *payok*, the ration which was given according to the size of the family and not according to work performed. On the whole, Russia consisted only of two kinds of people, those who were dead, and those who barely made a living with their *payok*. Within each group there was equality. Equality, to be sure, on a very low level, but equality nevertheless.

#### CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION

The New Economic Policy introduced a rather timid differentiation of wages. The Bolsheviks found themselves in a dilemma. On one hand the State demanded greater production, on the other hand there was the Marxist tradition which made every device for speeding up work, such as piece-work, smack of capitalist exploitation. What could be done? It was a period when the State was on top: its demands had to be fulfilled. Gradually piece-rates were introduced in addition to wages on a time basis. A new wage-scale came into use which provided different wages for different jobs. The ratio between the lowest and highest wages was at first one to five, then one to eight, finally one to ten. In addition premiums were offered as a special inducement. But as wages and standards of living were slowly growing apart, the protests of those who considered this to be treason and a betrayal of the idea of equality, became louder. Particularly the Trade Unions demanded the return to time-wages with only small differences between the highest and lowest groups. And so again the direction was changed.

#### "WHY SHOULD WE WORK?"

One does not have to study psychology to know what will be the result if



an entire nation is paid more or less the same wages for any length of time. Obviously what happens is that nobody works. Those who are lazy by nature say, "Why should we work? We would not get more anyway." And the industrious ones will say, "Why should we work? The others don't and yet they get the same."

This attitude may have been all right as long as you looked at it from the point of view of the individual's liberty. But as soon as the requirements of the State were stressed, its demands for more coal and iron, for more tanks and guns, the picture changed completely. It was during the first Five Year Plan that this change took place. Increasingly the emphasis shifted from the individual to the State. And the State above everything else wanted more production. Evidently there was only one way to make people work harder: to pay them more for more work, to pay them less or not at all for less or no work.

#### "THE SIX CONDITIONS OF COMRADE STALIN"

On June 23, 1931, Stalin made a speech which I consider to be one of the most important documents of Bolshevik history. It soon became known as "The Six Conditions of Comrade Stalin." It was copied in millions of pamphlets and quoted in billions of newspapers. In essence this speech said, "Down with equalitarianism! (Not even the word equality was left, it had deteriorated in equalitarianism, *uravnilovka*.) Up with inequality, up with determined differentiation of wages! Only if we stimulate the individual worker by paying him higher wages for more work can we expect greater production."

Since this memorable speech things have developed very much in the direction demanded by Stalin. The wage differences have increased from year to year until today you can find people in Russia who earn a hundred rubles

a month and others who make a thousand, five thousand, ten thousand, and even more a month. If you work more you get paid more, for the State needs more of everything. The State needs more automobiles, more oil, more planes. The State needs... the State needs... the State... the State... The emphasis has indeed completely shifted.

#### THE UBIQUITOUS FACE OF THE BUREAUCRAT

In the present period, which is the fourth lap in the course of Bolshevism, the State has won out completely over the individual. Nowhere in the world does the individual have less to say than in the present Soviet Union, where he stands as a helpless dwarf before that horrifying giant, the State, who holds in his hands the powers both of the employer and of the government. People who have not lived in the USSR do not realize what it means if state and employer are the same. In most other countries a man can, if he feels unfairly treated by his employer, go to a new employer or he can appeal to the State. But in the Soviet Union, wherever he goes, to factory A or to factory B, to the employer or to the State, he will find the same face: the face of the bureaucrat who represents THE STATE.

Some observers abroad sincerely believed that the new Soviet constitution with its many guarantees of human rights would change things. These people have been bitterly disillusioned. Under the new constitution more individuals than at any time before have been "liquidated" without due trial or any other regard for their human rights.

#### WORLD REVOLUTION

We have traced the two parental influences of Bolshevism and their mutual struggle because they help to solve many otherwise unintelligible contradictions and because they bring into focus nearly a quarter of a cen-

tury of Bolshevism which to many seems hopelessly confused.

But our task does not end here. For there is one more trend in Bolshevism which must be mentioned, a trend which it inherited from both its parents and which has remained the same no matter what influence happened to be the stronger at any given period. This is the desire for world domination.

### THE RUSSIAN EAGLE

Among its paternal ancestors all the great Russian rulers were in the first place "Collectors of the Russian Earth," as they were named by their chroniclers. The word "Russian" might as well be left out in this title, for the earth collected was mainly non-Russian when the collecting started. It includes almost five million square miles of Siberia, over one million square miles of Central Asia, not to mention the vast regions inhabited by Caucasian, Turkish, Finnish, and numerous other non-Russian and non-Slavic tribes conquered in the course of Russian history. To Peter the Great not even the Pacific was a barrier. It was he who inaugurated Russia's march into Alaska and California, and his successors dreamt of flying the Russian Eagle over India, the Persian Gulf, and the Aegean Sea.

Any history book with a map on the growth of Russia from the small principality of Moscow to its greatest size in the latter half of the nineteenth century will bear out my contention that conquest without regard for natural or national limits was the proud tradition of the Russian Tsars. One should not overlook the fact that the Russians were peculiarly well equipped for this expansion over Europe, Asia, and even parts of America. More than a thousand years of life on the borders of Europe and Asia, of wars with Asiatic tribes and of marriages with their daughters, have made Russia a Eurasian nation which speaks the language of the West as well as that of the East.

### THE COMMUNIST STAR

Even stronger and certainly more outspoken is the desire for world domination on the maternal side. Neither the men of the French Revolution nor the followers of Marx thought in terms of nations. They all believed that their star should shine for all men and that their program should be accepted by the world as a whole. Read the revolutionary French proclamations or the Communist Manifesto, or the books of the Comintern, and you will find it stated there with candor and vehemence.

It is this combination of national and international urges toward world domination which has caused world revolution to remain the one unchanged part of the Bolshevik plan. Wage-scales, school programs, and many other things were radically altered several times during the history of Bolshevism. But no one has ever observed a change in the final aim: World Revolution. There have, of course, been differences of opinion as to the methods, but never as to the aim itself, the aim of a Soviet World, controlled from the "Capital of the World Proletariat," Moscow.

### THE STRANGE WAYS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Because of its close connection with the fixed aim of a world revolution, the foreign policy of the USSR has not followed the swings of the pendulum which have been described here and which can be found in all other spheres of Soviet life.

Take the last ten years of Soviet history for example. During the years 1931-1941 the inner-political development of the Soviet Union has remained essentially the same, yet the foreign policy has passed through many phases. First the Kremlin was on good terms with Germany, denouncing the injustices of Versailles and Geneva. Then it became a bitter enemy of Germany, defending the European *status quo*

and joining the League of Nations. Next it made its peace with Germany in order to use Germany's involvement in the present war for large gains of territory in Eastern Europe, and fought its war against Finland. And now again it stands on the side of Britain and America. Yet during this entire decade the USSR has remained the same dictatorship, as far removed from the ideals of her present allies as anything could ever be.

#### GERMANY AND THE USSR AT WAR

No one who has followed the political events of the last few years will doubt that everything was done by the opponents of Germany to bring the Soviet Union into their camp. In this they were successful. By the early summer of 1941 the German leaders were convinced that it had become only a question of time as to when Stalin would actively join the war against Germany. When on June 22 the German armies crossed the Soviet border their leaders did not underestimate the Red Army—better than anyone else in the world were they aware of its strength and weakness—but they were determined to strike the first blow in a struggle that had become unavoidable.

There was much rejoicing in the ranks of Germany's enemies when the Bolshevik armies took the field against Germany. Did they expect the Red troops to defeat the German legions? Hardly. Did they wish them at all to be victorious? I have not been in England since the war began, but I cannot imagine that even the fury and hatred

of modern war could cause the British to desire a Bolshevik victory over Germany, which would put the whole of Europe at the mercy of Stalin.

The American attitude has been very poignantly expressed in a recent issue of *Time* which speaks of "the emotional confusion of most U.S. citizens who looked upon a war in which they wished both sides would lose—but not too soon. It was a troubling experience for those who rejoiced when Nazis smacked into Russia, out of hatred of Communism—but who worried to see how hard they smacked; and for those who could see the logic of U.S. aid to Russia, since Russia was the weaker of two well-hated dictatorships—but gagged at the thought of a Russian victory."

This is a frank statement which characterizes a strange political situation. Since the joint Churchill-Roosevelt message to Stalin, England and the United States are practically allies of the USSR. Yet all the sane elements—certainly in America and probably in Great Britain—do not want the Bolsheviks to win, as they realize the terrific consequences of such a victory not only for continental Europe but also for themselves. They are hoping for a repetition of the events in the Great War, when Germany and Russia wore each other out and in the end both collapsed. But they are hoping with little confidence. They know that Germany has learned from the bitter experience of the last war and they fear that, as *Time* puts it, they might be helped out of their emotional confusion by a German victory over the USSR.



# HIGH LIGHTS OF THE GERMAN-SOVIET WAR

By O. PRINCIPINI

*The German-Soviet war is being fought on such a tremendous scale of men and miles that it will for a long time be impossible to obtain a clear picture of the actual course of events. Yet some general outlines are discernible. It is already obvious that the battle between Germany and the USSR differs from the previous campaigns of the present war. Here are the views of a competent observer on the first twelve weeks of hostilities.—K.M.*

The Russo-German conflict, in the first twelve weeks of war, has had two essential phases—the “battle of the frontier” and the “battle of the Stalin Line”: battles of giants, the struggle of colossal armies, along frontiers and in war-zones practically unlimited.

While it is still too early thoroughly to examine the various phases of the fighting, certain conclusions are already clearly enough revealed. However, an objective military or political observer, before reaching definite conclusions, must proceed cautiously, limiting himself to a rational examination of the first fundamental aspects of the tremendous struggle and deducting from them the basic elements for a logical and well-based judgment.

Out of the fog of military secrecy the first lights and shadows of the new war have begun to appear.

Russia, upon entering this war, could rely on two sources of strength: the tremendous distances, and the huge reserves of man-power and materials; we shall later see how these have been utilized by the Red High Command.

Initiative and surprise—two fundamental elements of success in war—seem to have disappeared immediately, and perhaps forever, from the hands of the Red Headquarters. Three other elements, however, seem still uncertain to the distant observer: the moral cohesion of the Red troops; the leadership of the Red Command; and the

actual provision of adequate, timely and efficient material aid to the Soviet Union by Britain and America.

## NO BLITZKRIEG IN RUSSIA?

During the first week of the war there was real fear in London and Washington, perhaps more than in Moscow, of seeing Russia “blitzed” in a few weeks, as had been the case first in Poland, then France, and most recently in Yugoslavia and Greece. And as Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev are today still in Russian hands, the Anglo-American press speaks of a victorious Russian resistance.

The truth may very soon turn out to be quite different. It seems that in the Russian campaign the German Command has again taken the enemy by surprise, not only in the choice of time but also in the choice of tactical methods. It should be remembered that the real military purpose of a war is the defeat of the enemy forces, not the occupation of enemy territories. Victory is very often manifested, it is true, by the occupation of enemy territories, but not unless the occupation of the strategic territorial objectives presupposes the destruction of the defending forces by depriving the enemy of the very sources of his war-power and by striking directly at the heart and will of enemy resistance. All this is only true if, after the objectives have been reached, there are no more

enemy forces left capable of annulling the success already obtained.

From reports known to us up to now — reports that are necessarily fragmentary and incomplete — we are prompted to conclude that the German Command is applying in Russia a new tactical method which is perhaps most appropriate to the particular situation on the Russian front. There has been no spectacular drive, none of those audacious, impressive, arrow-like thrusts, as that on Lemberg in 1939 to cut any possible junction of Poland with Rumania, or as in France in 1940 the thrust on Amiens, Abbeville, and Dunkirk, or that on Athens through Salonika and Larissa. In the Russian campaign, the day-to-day situation of the opposing fronts has on some days shown wide and deep indentations toward the east; but generally the fronts have kept, and are continuing to keep, an almost unbroken line.

Perhaps the German Command, taking into consideration the vastness of the Red provinces and the great numerical strength of the Soviet armies, preferred to thrust directly into separate enemy armies instead of at great territorial objectives. In other words, "blitzkrieg" localized against the defending forces, as at Bialystok and Minsk, at Vitebsk and Smolensk, as recently between the lower Bug and lower Dniepr, and as in many other localities all along the wide Russian front.

### **STALIN LOSES ADVANTAGE OF SPACE**

Another of the main conclusions it has been possible to draw immediately after the "battle of the frontier" is that Stalin has been compelled to give up his advantage of space. Enormous Russian land and aerial forces have been compelled to fight and have been defeated, all along the frontier, since the first day of the campaign without being able to withdraw to the main Russian defense line.

The "battle of the frontier" has fully confirmed what the German High Command suspected, namely, that Russia was for a long time secretly preparing for war, massing her forces to strike at Germany while the latter was engaged on other fronts. The tenacious resistance met by the German troops since the first day of this campaign has been possible only because there were already Russian troops and material at the Russo-German frontier practically ready to start the offensive themselves.

Perhaps history will later record that it is just this which has been the fatal self-condemnation of Soviet Russia. The timely move of the German Army compelled the Soviet Command to employ a great quantity of its forces when the Red Army was not yet completely ready to fight. And moreover, to fight not only at a time but also in a territory and in a manner less favorable to the Soviet forces.

In a defensive struggle such as the one now imposed on the Soviet forces, the Russian High Command had probably intended to exploit to the maximum the vastness and depth of the endless Soviet territory: in other words, to give up space in order to gain time; to gain time in order to prepare a fight under the most favorable conditions, namely, where, when, and in whichever way the grouping of her own forces and the general situation makes it advisable to fight, that is, to maintain the bulk of her own forces at a great distance from the enemy with a view to keeping fully her own freedom of action and of maneuver; to withdraw as far as possible from the starting-bases of the German forces in order to compel the German Command to lose time by searching for the enemy, to build new advance-bases for its land and air forces, and to re-open long ways of communication or to bring into use new ones.

We all know today that exactly the opposite happened. The Red High Command had deployed towards the

west all the bulk, and perhaps the best part, of its mammoth war-machine: its headquarters, its mechanized units, its imposing land troops, its airfields, its deposits of supplies. These Russian forces, arrayed for an attack, were now suddenly forced to fight a defensive battle in a most critical situation. Since it was impossible to take up in time positions further back—as would have been advisable in a defensive battle—the Russian Command had to accept open battle from the first day of the war, under conditions of great disadvantage to its own forces. Indeed the German Army was able, from the beginning of the campaign, to develop to the full its unflinching ability for the offensive, operating at short distances from its own starting-bases.

For the Russian High Command the surprise was complete. Not until after the first week of war was it reorganized and the front divided into the three known sectors: northern, central, and southern (Voroshilov, Timoshenko, Budenny).

### *THE STALIN LINE*

The Stalin Line has already given its name to the second phase of the war. The fate of the great fortified lines in this war has been unfortunate. Mannerheim, Maginot, and Metaxas were really ill-advised to give their names to the principal defensive organizations of Finland, France, and Greece. Will the name of Stalin be any more fortunate? The results so far achieved by the Germans justify us in seriously doubting this.

We do not as yet precisely know either the actual course or the constructive details of the "Stalin Line." It would seem likely that such a line has for its main object the defense of Moscow, Leningrad, and Kharkov; for its more immediate object the defense of the line of great advance centres: Reval-Smolensk-Kiev-Odessa. A summary glance at the map of Russia is sufficient to make clear that this line is undoubtedly powerful, due perhaps

more to its natural advantages than its defensive preparations. Of great value are the supporting wings at the two opposite ends of the line, facing respectively the Baltic and the Black Seas.

In the north, the system seems to have consisted of an advanced line of defense along the lower river Dvina, a line which is completed in the rear by an excellent defense in depth, linked up with the Lake Peipus region and supported at a convenient distance by the naval base of Kronstadt and the great supply base of Leningrad.

In the south, on the Black Sea front, there was another multiple system of defense lines. First, an advanced line of fortifications along the lower Dniestr, well supported by the central supply base of Odessa and by the naval base of Nikolayev. The main defense line was perhaps constructed along the lower river Bug. Still further to the east is a defense line curving back onto the lower Dniepr, whose course at this point turns in again towards the east, which is not very favorable for the economical defense of that territory.

In the centre, the Stalin Line was probably based on the rivers Dvina and Dniepr. Toward its centre the courses of these two rivers (flowing in opposite directions) do not meet but turn off at an abrupt right-angle to the east, forming in that sector a wide corridor, long known as the "Corridor of Smolensk." The cities of Vitebsk and Smolensk are both within this corridor. This is precisely the most dangerous point of the whole front, for through here passes the shortest route to Moscow, that is to the heart of the whole Russian defense system. Smolensk really deserves the name of the Western Gate of Moscow. Napoleon used this route for his advance on Moscow. In this war, Smolensk has already given its name to what is perhaps so far the bloodiest battle of the war. Both Vitebsk and Smolensk are entirely in the hands of German troops.



## THE BATTLE OF THE STALIN LINE

This battle appears so far to be the decisive battle of the whole Russian campaign. War communiqués confirm with daily increasing clarity that the Russian High Command has decided to throw into the Stalin Line the greater part of its fighting forces. The battle is still in full swing, but the outlines are visible.

For many weeks the German High Command has been hammering at the Stalin Line at various points, alternating its blows between the centre and the north and the centre and the south; with feints to the right and real blows to the left; with feints towards the Baltic and a terrific blow towards the Black Sea. The Soviet Command has tried to parry these blows as best it could, and to stop up with all possible haste the most threatening gaps in the system, thereby undoubtedly using up tremendous quantities of its land and air forces.

In the south, large Axis forces have got around the Dniestr and Bug from above, so that these two rivers have quickly lost all defensive value. The conquest of Nikolayev has effectively sealed the fate of Odessa, if not the potential fate of the whole rich coastal region facing the Black Sea. In the centre, large German forces have crossed the Dniepr, and turning to the south, already menace the rear of the whole defense system hinging on the great population centre of Kiev. In the northern sector, Leningrad is gripped in a vice, from the south and from the north. The fall of Leningrad would entail that of Kronstadt, whereby the Soviet forces lose their last remaining communications with the Baltic.

## THE SOVIET UNION NEEDS MORE ARMS

At the beginning of the war the world was stunned by information published about the Soviet Army: officers, air-

planes, tanks, in tens upon tens of thousands, soldiers in tens of millions; and other practically inexhaustible war resources in general. Truly impressive figures, even in comparison with the colossal war machines of the most modern and most powerful countries in the world.

Today, after over two months of war, Stalin has apparently sent out desperate S.O.S. messages to his friends in London and Washington. We do not know yet whether he has asked for aid in the form of man-power; but he has certainly made urgent requests for help in the form of war machinery and munitions, and perhaps of food; and it seems he even needs gasoline and other fuels and lubricants.

Supposing that all these things were available, how are they going to reach Russia? There is the painful question of ships already sunk in huge numbers on all the Seven Seas. This problem of transport was of most pressing urgency even before the German-Soviet war created new demands.

## THE SOVIET COMMAND AND THE RUSSIAN SOLDIER

The capacity for leadership of the Russian High Command cannot yet be definitely judged, but it can already be subjected to severe criticism. The Red Army has long been called a "giant with a head of clay." Years of "Red purges" have wrought havoc in the Army, particularly in the upper command, causing a grave crisis in quantity and quality, which has most certainly had an unfavorable influence on the conduct of the war. Up till now the Russian High Command has had to submit almost entirely to the initiative of the enemy.

Commanders and general staffs are not to be found in a hurry. To prepare good military leaders, just as to prepare good scientists, years of intensive, patient, and conscientious work are necessary; above all today, when technical science pervades and often pre-

dominates in nearly all fields of war activity. The use of large modern armies, provided with complex and delicate instruments of war, requires in the commanders a capacity for organization which can only be acquired after long and assiduous experience of command.

Anti-Soviet propaganda, especially that of England and America, has always represented Russia as a herd of cattle, held together by the whip of the herdsman Stalin with the aid of his faithful horde of vicious watchdogs, the OGPU. With or without a whip, the fact remains that the Red soldiers have certainly put up a good fight these first two months of war. The German Command has not failed to point this out. The younger generation in Russia, having grown up in the atmosphere of the Soviet regime, has learned to obey, to march and to die.

#### *THE RED ARMY AND THE LESSONS OF PREVIOUS CAMPAIGNS*

Russia entered the war nearly two years after the outbreak of the present European war. By now the Red Army has had the benefit of utilizing to its own advantage the lessons learned by others through experience. In this war, absolute supremacy in land warfare has until now been held continuously by the airplane and the tank. The binomial term of attack, "planes and tanks," has suddenly altogether ousted the old binomial term of defense, "trenches and machine-guns," which largely predominated in all sectors of the last World War.

Up till the beginning of the present war, the Red Army seemed to be among the best equipped in the world, especially in the fields of aviation and mechanized forces; at least in quantity if not in quality. It was therefore in a position to carry out a rapid adaptation to new methods of land warfare, based precisely on the intelligent use of airplanes and tanks.

In considering the Soviet performances so far one must recognize that "planes and tanks" are primarily used for offensive and counter-offensive. Russia, forced suddenly to fight on the defensive, has not been able to make much use of her great numerical strength in airplanes and tanks; moreover many were quickly destroyed by the German forces. The overrated Soviet parachute troops never put in a serious appearance.

The Red Army does not seem to have succeeded in contriving an "armor of defense" capable of halting effectively the attacking might of modern technical and aerial forces. But it has learned from the French defeat to fight in a very deep front and always to keep sufficient reserves to deal with enemy forces that have succeeded in breaking through.

#### *REPERCUSSIONS*

In the general field of the European conflict, the beginning of the Russo-German campaign had tremendous repercussions; it was immediately hailed by the Anglo-American press. London heaved a sigh of relief. The specter of a German invasion vanished once again. At Suez and at Gibraltar anxiety diminished. Traditional British policy could really boast of a genuine success. At last a new ally had joined the British Forces. Stalin was preparing to fight to the last Russian. In the heart of every Englishman was kindled the hope of seeing Germany hopelessly bogged in the Pripet marshes, crushed in the embrace of the Russian giant.

But apparently Stalin was more realistic, directly attacking the vital part of the problem: the active and effective co-operation of England and America. He would not be satisfied with empty guarantees like those given to Poland and others. He wanted not fine words but deeds: airplanes, cannons, munitions; not bombardments by Reuter but genuine and effective

bombardments against the common enemy; fewer hymns of praise in honor of the Soviet soldiers but effective co-operation of British soldiers.

This new problem soon became a major anxiety for London as well as Washington. Were they to make British troops march on the heels of the Axis? This was without doubt the most propitious moment to date, with the greater part of the Axis troops engaged on the eastern front.

But where were they to march British troops to? The European continent? The High Command in London is still nursing the wounds received by British forces in Norway, at Dunkirk, and in the Balkans. Moreover, to dis-

embark on the Continent would mean ships, thousands of ships.

Perhaps the possibility could be examined of another enterprise where the going was easy, such as the offensive in Cyrenaica against Italian troops who were without mechanized equipment; or the offensive in East Africa against Italian forces who had been isolated from their own country for a year; or the most recent campaigns against Iraq and the French in Syria?

We know now that the answer was Iran. This occupation of a neutral country brings British soldiers to the Persian oilfields and to the gates of those of Baku. How much the Russians will benefit by it, remains to be seen.



## INDO-CHINA

*Indo-China is one of the most recent countries on which the spotlight of world politics has been turned. A few weeks ago there were many who believed that its strategic importance might precipitate a Pacific war. We here present the personal accounts of two women authors concerning this little-known yet much talked about part of Asia.*

*The first deals with the coast of southern Indo-China, which has just been occupied by Japan. Who in former years had ever heard of Cam Ranh Bay? None but a few of the French officials, officers, and merchants who had made distant Indo-China, so far removed from the political bustle of the world, their home. Cam Ranh Bay lay peacefully asleep on the south-eastern coast of Indo-China, inhabited by a few Annamite fishermen and rarely seen by white men.*

*In the summer of 1939 the Bay impinged upon the consciousness of the newspaper readers of the world for the first time, through the disaster that befell a French submarine. But the name of the Bay did not make a lasting impression on the memories of most people.*

*It was not until the southern expansion of Japan began (about which more will be found in the documentary Appendix) that those interested in politics looked for the first time towards French Indo-China. The term "Cam Ranh Bay" began to appear more often in newspaper articles and in the telegrams of the news agencies. In a pamphlet of the Institute of Pacific Relations, published early in 1941 and devoted to the southward movement of Japan, the author, Andrew Roth, wrote about the Bay: "A Japanese fleet operating from this base could cut British communications between Hongkong and that 'Gibraltar of the East,' Singapore, and be in an excellent position to out-flank the defense of the Philippines, the coveted Netherlands East Indies, the British Malay States, and consequently threaten the maritime defenses of India."*

*On July 31, 1941, at seven-thirty in the morning, a Japanese warship with the head of the Japanese military mission to Indo-China, Major-General Raishiro Sumita, entered Cam Ranh Bay, and on the afternoon of the same day a squadron of the Japanese Navy followed. In innumerable telegrams the name of the Bay was flashed to the press of the world. But although this name has now become a fixed term in the political vocabulary as a symbol of Japan's southward expansion, very few people have any conception of the nature of the place. To fill this gap we have enlisted the aid of Mrs. M. Mornand and Mr. W. Lehmann.*

*Marie Mornand is the pen-name of a world-traveller, who, during the last few years, has many times motored over the road from Hanoi to Saigon, passing Cam Ranh Bay. In this account of her journey and in her photographs she gives a picture of the Bay and the whole strategic southeastern coast of French Indo-China occupied by the Japanese during the last few weeks. Mr. Lehmann is an artist who has rambled far and wide throughout the Orient. His picture in pastel gives his impression of Cam Ranh Bay at sunset.*

*Mrs. Catherine Lennard is of English-Swedish descent. She has lived much among the French, first studying at the Sorbonne, later making her home in Saigon. At the age of nineteen she published her first book in London. In her "Search of Pompeii" she describes an adventure in the interior of southern Indo-China, in the country of the Mois.—K.M.*

## CAM RANH BAY

## Motoring Through Japan's Newest Foothold

BY MARIE MORNAND

## "ROUTE MANDARINE"

The "Route Mandarine" connects the two most important cities of Indo-China—Hanoi and Saigon. This motor-road, completed in 1936, travels its whole length of eleven hundred miles through beautiful and extremely fertile country. Moreover, after Vinh it skirts the coast almost continuously. Much labor has been put into it, as parts of it lead through low-lying flood-districts. Even the raised embankments on which it runs in stretches cannot prevent the road being closed, sometimes for several days, during the rainy season because of floods.

The first place of interest, about midway between Hanoi and Saigon, is Tourane, a center of the French administration with an important harbor and airfield. Its museum is famed for its treasures of the Cham civilization, the oldest known civilization of Indo-China, examples of which are also impressively preserved in a nearby grotto-temple. Away from the main-road lie the great ruins of Dong-Duong and Mison. Quinhon is a sea-side resort with a good beach and some famous Cham towers. In the neighborhood of the small town of Song Cau the country becomes covered with white salt as far as the eye can see, and attractive Cape Varella has a bay famous for its three picturesque rocks.

## NHATRANG

As far as scenery is concerned, one of the most beautiful spots of Indo-China is Nhatrang, the favorite sea-side resort of Saigon. During the school-holidays in April and May even the smallest room in Nhatrang is occupied. The almost white sand, which in the sun reflects an intolerable glare, makes the sea here seem even bluer than elsewhere. The public grounds are well kept, and there are charming private

houses standing in big gardens. The *Musée Océanographique* shows in its aquariums the denizens of the Bay of Nhatrang, among which are fish of incredible colors. At the end of the town two red-brick towers of a ruined Cham temple stand on a granite rock. The walls of these towers, which have long lost their ornamentations, are now covered with lianas. High up in one of them, in the so-called "cellule obscure," Po Nagar is enthroned, the many-armed merciful goddess so deeply revered by the natives.

We were always very comfortable at the Grand Hotel de la Plage in Nhatrang, famous for its excellent cuisine. As a special favor we were given the "Apartment de l'Empereur," in which the present Emperor of Annam used to stay. (He now owns a beautiful villa in Nhatrang, from which he sometimes goes on shooting-parties in the neighborhood.) This suite has a delightful terrace, where from our long chairs we used to enjoy the sunset, and then lie late into the night, waiting for a cooling breeze.

## CAM RANH BAY

From Nhatrang it is only a short drive to Cam Ranh Bay. It is a bay of tremendous extent and of a quiet beauty. Seventeen miles long, it is surrounded by wooded hills averaging thirteen hundred feet and affording perfect protection against storms. The water is anywhere from forty-five to sixty-five feet deep, and the bottom of sand and mud provides good anchorage. Moreover, the Bay possesses two important influxes of fresh water, the analysis of which shows a very low calcium content. This is an advantage greatly appreciated for technical reasons, as the water will then not foul ships' boilers to any great extent. The mouth of Cam Ranh Bay is within

three to seven miles of the commercial shipping route between Singapore and Hongkong.

In the coconut-palm groves near the beach there are a few huts built by fishermen. The beach is of fine sand and washed by clear, deep blue water. These quiet surroundings were the scene of a tragic accident, when, in the middle of June, 1939, a French submarine did not return to the surface from a diving practice. All attempts to save the crew of nearly a hundred French officers and men were in vain.

We never wished for a prolonged stay at this beautiful bay. The lodging facilities in the little hamlet situated on the beach away from the road are exceedingly primitive, and the warm lemonade cannot be considered a refreshment in this very hot place.

#### *ANNAMITES, FRENCHMEN—AND JAPANESE*

From here to Saigon the road first passes through palm forests interspersed with great fertile rice-fields, a picture of immeasurable natural riches. Further south we drive for hours along the beautifully cool and shady asphalt road through the rubber plantations of

Cochin-China, where in parts the road is agreeably darkened by the high, closely planted rubber-trees, till we reach Saigon.

The entire coastal region we have passed through is densely inhabited. There is one village after another, and many Annamites, especially women in their characteristic pointed straw hats, can be seen working in the rice-fields and rubber plantations. So great are the throngs of people on the road that we had to buy an extra loud horn for our car, for with the standard one we could make no headway at all.

White people are rarely seen. Here and there in the villages there are small military posts, and even in the towns the number of Frenchmen is insignificant. It is usually composed of the highest French administrative official, the so-called Resident, with his assistants; the doctor; the hotel-proprietor; and the postal official.

Since the end of July things must have greatly changed along this coast, and especially in Cam Ranh Bay. An entirely new element appeared when this territory was occupied by thirty thousand Japanese soldiers and many units of the Japanese Navy.

### IN SEARCH OF POMPEI

BY CATHERINE LENNARD

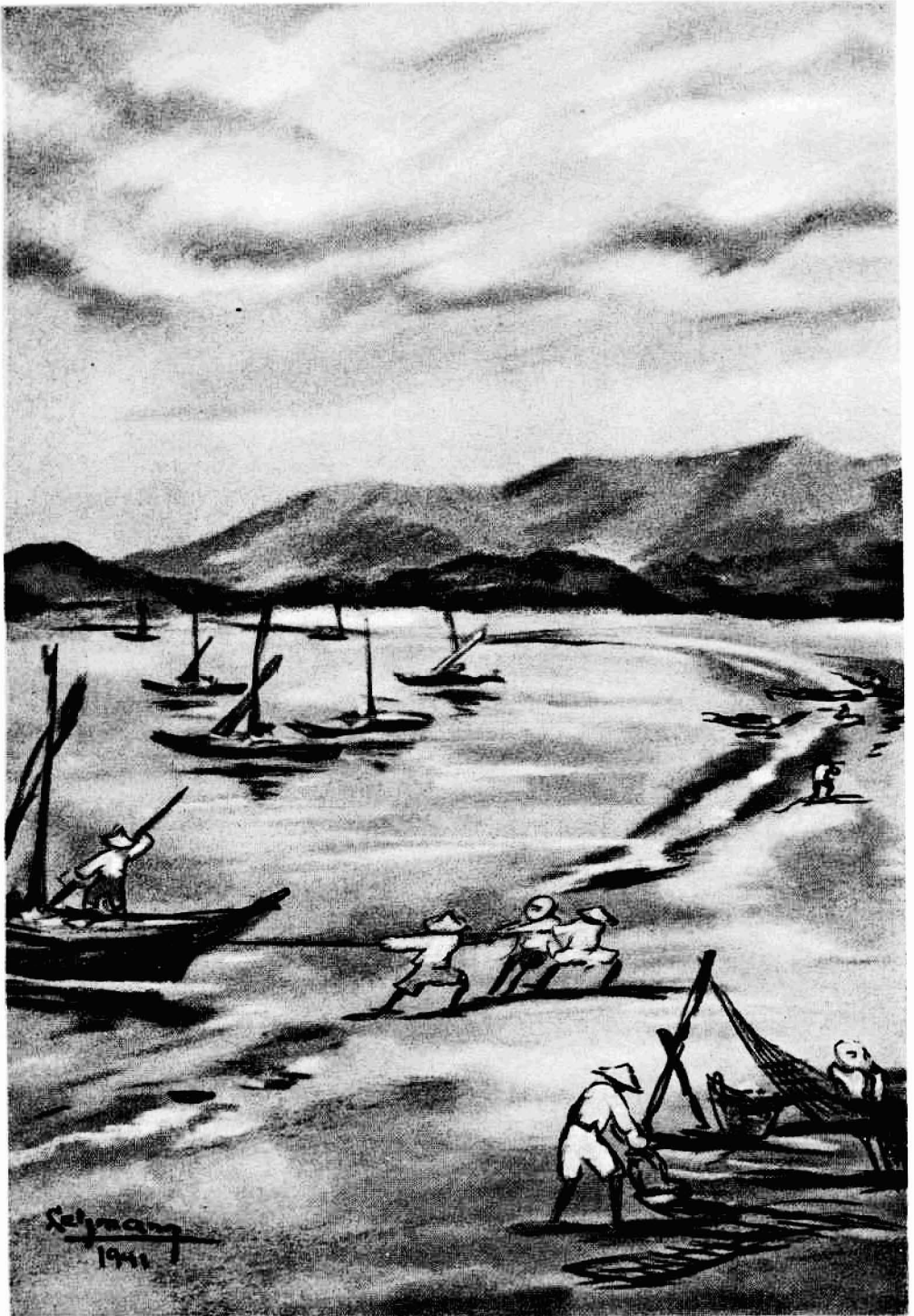
Dalat is a mountain station in French Indo-China, high and cool even in summer time. It is a favorite resort for the people of Saigon, although it stands in the very heart of the wild and hardly explored hill-country of the Mois. The Mois are nomads living in unattainable mountain regions. They have very little contact with civilization and are one of the savage tribes anthropologists like to study.

John had been quite ill and for his convalescence we had gone to Dalat. When he felt better, we decided to explore the countryside. According to rumors there existed a Moi village with the peculiar name of Pompei some 25 miles away, but it had not actually

been seen by anyone we knew. Although we had had no previous experience with expeditions, we decided to search for Pompei.

We were able to find out on which path to start, but no more. We could not ask the Mois, not knowing their language. Although one saw them mending the roads leading to Dalat, or wandering through the village on their way to the market place, where they barter their oranges and dwarf mountain orchids for other necessities, they never stay long enough in any one place for one to become acquainted with their customs. I had often seen them, walking along in single file, their black bodies doubled up under the weight of





SUNSET AT CAM RANH BAY

*Pastel by O. Lehmann*

three to seven miles of the commercial shipping route between Singapore and Hongkong.

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We never wished for a prolonged stay at this beautiful bay. The lodging facilities in the little hamlet situated on the beach away from the road are exceedingly primitive, and the warm lemonade cannot be considered a refreshment in this very hot place.

#### *ANNAMITES, FRENCHMEN—AND JAPANESE*

From here to Saigon the road first passes through palm forests interspersed with great fertile rice-fields, a picture of immeasurable natural riches. Further south we drive for hours along the beautifully cool and shady asphalt road through the rubber plantations of

Cochin-China, where in parts the road is agreeably darkened by the high, closely planted rubber-trees, till we reach Saigon.

The entire coastal region we have passed through is densely inhabited. There is one village after another, and many Annamites, especially women in their characteristic pointed straw hats, can be seen working in the rice-fields and rubber plantations. So great are the throngs of people on the road that we had to buy an extra loud horn for our car, for with the standard one we could make no headway at all.

White people are rarely seen. Here and there in the villages there are small military posts, and even in the towns the number of Frenchmen is insignificant. It is usually composed of the highest French administrative official, the so-called Resident, with his assistants; the doctor; the hotel-proprietor; and the postal official.

Since the end of July things must have greatly changed along this coast, and especially in Cam Ranh Bay. An entirely new element appeared when this territory was occupied by thirty thousand Japanese soldiers and many units of the Japanese Navy.

### IN SEARCH OF POMPEI

BY CATHERINE LENNARD

Dalat is a mountain station in French Indo-China, high and cool even in summer time. It is a favorite resort for the people of Saigon, although it stands in the very heart of the wild and hardly explored hill-country of the Mois. The Mois are nomads living in unattainable mountain regions. They have very little contact with civilization and are one of the savage tribes anthropologists like to study.

John had been quite ill and for his convalescence we had gone to Dalat. When he felt better, we decided to explore the countryside. According to rumors there existed a Moi village with the peculiar name of Pompei some 25 miles away, but it had not actually

been seen by anyone we knew. Although we had had no previous experience with expeditions, we decided to search for Pompei.

We were able to find out on which path to start, but no more. We could not ask the Mois, not knowing their language. Although one saw them mending the roads leading to Dalat, or wandering through the village on their way to the market place, where they barter their oranges and dwarf mountain orchids for other necessities, they never stay long enough in any one place for one to become acquainted with their customs. I had often seen them, walking along in single file, their black bodies doubled up under the weight of

the heavily laden baskets carried on their backs; a small squealing pig usually bringing up the rear, tugging at the piece of string tied around its neck.

We started out with some provisions, a raincoat, as the rainy season was about to start, a stout walking stick, a torch, and some cigarettes. We loaded all our kit on to the backs of a couple of tiny *Moi* ponies—smaller than any good sized donkey—sturdy and sure-footed for tricky mountain climbing. At times it was even possible to ride the ponies, although it necessitated sitting on a native saddle made of the hardest possible wood.

It was a bright sunny morning, tempered by a cool breeze. Soon the pine trees gave way to tropical jungle growth. A few hours of riding brought us to the top of a hill where the road forked and we were faced with the problem of which path to take. We tossed a coin and took the lower road. It seemed queer that we had not seen anyone since we started. If we had been on the right track, we should have met a few *Mois* coming from the opposite direction.

In the next valley we came upon a little river flowing rapidly over large boulders. We tied up the ponies. The midday sun was beating down on us and the pine trees and cool breeze of the morning seemed very remote. We swam and dried ourselves in the sun. The sound of a waterfall nearby reached our ears, mingled with the usual jungle noises—the jungle, that strange combination of intense stillness and palpitating invisible life. We fell asleep, but were soon awakened by the falling on our heads of large drops through the branches.

The rain, looking like large steel needles being thrown from the skies, came down with a violence that left us both breathless with surprise. The path had become a roaring torrent, gushing down from the hills, and we frequently lost it entirely as we struggled knee-deep through the undergrowth. A tickling in my toes made me think the rain

must have seeped into my boots, until I saw John's legs which were covered by a mass of small black leeches. We hurriedly searched for matches and cigarettes and, in spite of the rain, somehow managed to light them. Although John expressed a natural, and perhaps justifiable fear, that his legs would be burnt too, I held the burning cigarette end to each leech until it sizzled and dropped off.

The deluge stopped as suddenly as it had started, and we encountered a few *Mois*, coming along the path towards us. The men were short, with fine looking bodies, very well proportioned and muscular, and they carried their heads proudly. They wore loin cloths and dark blue embroidered jackets of handwoven coarse linen. The embroidery and fastenings were bright red. Their hair was long and done up in a kind of chignon on the top of the head. Some wore necklaces and bracelets of silver tubing. This jewellery is hand-made from melted coins. Others wore crude beads. The women were not as good-looking as the men. They were all naked to the waist and had long skirts wrapped round their loins. Many of them had cut the lobes of their ears and inserted circular pieces of wood, about three inches in diameter, into the opening. This gave the effect of enormous earrings. Men and women alike all smoked long thin bamboo pipes.

The *Mois* looked at us curiously, but when we smiled and offered them cigarettes, their suspicions were allayed. It was quite useless trying to talk, so I took out my note-book, and drawing a picture of a house, showed it to them. My efforts brought forth roars of laughter. "Show them the house and point in different directions," suggested John. This I did, with the result that they all pointed towards a small path that seemed to lead to the top of a mountain. When I uttered the word "Pompei" they laughed even louder. "That's all you will get out of them," said John. "We had better climb the mountain."



The sight of human life had given us a feeling of reassurance. But it began to rain again and we realized that a long wet spell had set in. By that time it was getting dark and chilly and the thought of tigers, panthers, and other wild beasts was with me constantly, though, having nearly reached our goal, I managed to suppress my fears.

Eventually we reached the summit. We eagerly searched for any signs of village life or cultivation, but we were to be disappointed. We decided to stay the night here—should any Mois pass by, we would see them. Also it seemed safer and drier here than in the hollow. John was still weak and went to sleep, while I kept watch with the lighted torch and a heavy walking-stick in my hands. In four hours' time he should take my place. It had turned cold. The matches were completely sodden and it was impossible to light a fire or a cigarette. The night was very dark.

Nothing exceptional occurred during my watch until a sudden peculiar sound, as of a deer calling to its mate, reached my ears. Something strange and slightly uncanny about this cry disturbed me. Then a vague form leapt across the path. There was no mistaking that agile grace—the two green lights that pierced the darkness of the night could never have been taken for the eyes of a deer. I heard a frantic neighing, followed by the mad galloping towards me of a terrified pony, and it was then that I realized with horror the disaster which had overtaken his companion. The pony and I clung to each other, united in terror. Only when I was reasonably sure that the shadowy form had disappeared down the valley—probably to quench his thirst after his excellent meal—I released the frightened beast.

Dawn was breaking and we were enthralled by the beauty of the rising sun creeping up through the mist that lay over the valley, when my joy was shattered by the sight of the disembowelled remains of the pony lying

waiting to be claimed when darkness should descend again.

We hastily retraced our steps the way we had come to find the spot where the road had forked and then to follow the upper path this time. The bright morning sunshine helped us to forget the experiences of the previous day and night. There was no difficulty in finding the fork, though it was hard going with only one pony which we took turns to ride. Finally we espied a small patch of maize and rice growing on a hilly slope ahead of us. Pompei, at last!

The thatched roof of an oblong native hut appeared on the horizon, and hungry dogs, looking more like wolves, came running, barking, to meet us. Native women and children stood shyly near the fence which encircled the tiny village, but most of the men were away, working or hunting. We approached the hut, and after we had indicated that we were hungry, thirsty, and tired, they led the way to the entrance and hospitably invited us to enter. The huts were made of dried earth stuck on to a frame of wooden rafters. The roof was of reed thatching. Our first impression on entering the hut was that everything looked black and smelt of wood smoke. The women squatted on the floor and indicated that we should make ourselves comfortable on the low wooden couch covered with filthy rags.

One of the women was moved by our exhausted appearance and pressed a horn full of bitter rice wine to our lips. It had been used by the entire family and was in need of a good scrubbing. We also ate queer cakes made from maize flour, some over-ripe black bananas and other strange food. The black shiny rafters above our heads were strung with a variety of utensils, such as hunting knives, drinking horns, home-made baskets of every size and shape, long pipes, quivers full of arrows, and the great heavy long-bows that the Mois use for hunting wild beasts—even tigers. All these objects were black with smoke and of a very primitive design.

We had been sleeping for some time when we were wakened by the sound of a horn being blown outside, hailing the home-coming of the male members of the family. They entered the hut—an old woman at their head. She was the Matriarch. The men being so seldom at home, the head of the tribe is a chieftainess, and all business transactions, such as buying or selling land and animals, have to pass through her hands.

As it was getting late we asked our chieftainess to lend us a pony and show us the way home. She appeared to understand and consented graciously upon receiving a gift of money, our remaining cigarettes, and some chewing-gum that we happened to have in

our pockets. Their child-like minds were much amused by a demonstration of how to manipulate the chewing-gum and they seemed to attach more value to this strange novelty than to the money. We left them playing gaily with the gum while the senior member of the tribe accompanied us to the entrance of the village. As we walked, he suddenly stopped and bowed down before a totem-pole; it was decorated with deers' antlers, wild buffalo horns, a strange looking beard that had probably belonged to a goat, and several wooden masks with primitively drawn faces on them.

We mounted our ponies and rode off, while behind us the jungle again swallowed up the little village of Pompei.



## THAILAND — OLD AND NEW

By Dr. LILY ABEGG

*"The future of the Far East depends at present upon Thailand, which has become the powder-keg of Asia," declared the official organ of the Kuomintang in Chungking on August 8. A few years ago this statement would have made no sense whatever to the greater part of the world, for it was not until 1939 that people heard the word "Thailand" for the first time. That was when the National Assembly at Bangkok decided to change their country's name from Siam to Thailand.*

*Since then—this is hardly an exaggeration—the term Thailand has appeared more frequently in the pages of newspapers and magazines than the old name had done in all the centuries of its existence. Particularly during this spring and summer the little country has been constantly in the news. While Thailand emphasizes the friendliness of its relations with all the world, the two countries most concerned, Japan and Great Britain, are watching each other with grave suspicion. Japan's "New Order" and British Imperialism are now, after the occupation of southern Indo-China by Japan, separated only by the width of Thailand.*

*What is this country like, that has become such an important pawn in the game of the great powers? It is described in the following pages.*

*The author, Dr. Lily Abegg, is a writer and journalist of international background. A Swiss citizen, she spent the first twelve years of her life in Japan, went to school in Zurich, Switzerland, and studied at the Universities of Geneva and Hamburg where in 1925 she obtained her doctor's degree in political science. Since then she has been in journalistic work in Europe and in the Orient, traveling extensively, always trying to come as close as possible to the scene of action and to see things for herself. In this way, although a member of the so-called "weaker sex," she covered the campaigns in China by visiting both the Chinese and Japanese fronts, and those of Belgium and France by moving with the troops.*

*Although a highly qualified journalist, Miss Abegg was never satisfied with mere day-by-day reporting. Her desire to get at the root of things more thoroughly than newspaper writing usually permits found expression in two thoughtful books: one on Japan, "Yamato," the other on China, "China's Rebirth," a review of which will be found in this issue. Dr. Abegg has just returned from a visit to Thailand.—K.M.*

### PEOPLE OF BUDDHA

On the evening of the birthday of Buddha special ceremonies in honor of the Great Master took place in the temples of Bangkok. We were invited to be present at the ceremony in the Wat Phra Keo, one of the most magnificent of the temples. It stands next to the royal palace and contains a famous statue of Buddha made of jasper.

Our little group was composed of Europeans, Japanese, and Indians, all of whom were in Thailand for the first time, and I think the beauty and strangeness of the Thai temple architecture made an equally strong impression on all of us. The sky was cloudless, and, although late in the afternoon, it was still very hot. The last rays of the sun reflected from the golden eaves of the roofs and from the many stupas, each of a different



color. The red light of the evening sun lay over the great ceramic figures of the temple guardians, representing ancient seamen of Holland, and over stone statues in Chinese style.

### *THE RULER AS HIGH PRIEST*

There are few trees and plants near the temples of Bangkok and in the temple-courts, so that there is nothing to subdue the shapes and colors of the buildings under the high dome of the sky. The accumulation of tall white columns, pointed iridescent roofs, innumerable green, blue, red, yellow, and white stupas, of galleries filled with images of Buddha, of variegated ceramic panels and statues of stone, bronze, and porcelain, all this at first seems somewhat cold and naked to the foreigner, until he is entirely captivated by the beauty of pure form.

More and more people, with burning incense-sticks in their hands, gather in the courts and galleries. They are dressed lightly in pale colors, as gay and brilliant-hued as the glittering temples and the tropical sunset. A light breeze tinkles the hundreds of little golden bells decorating the galleries and pavilions. Many high officials and officers in white uniforms now appear. This means that the Prince Regent, who is to worship Buddha in this temple today, must soon arrive.

While the last rays of the sun disappear and the moon rises, small candles are lighted everywhere. Which was more beautiful, we wonder: the majestic splendor of the rays of the sun or the tender light of candles and the moon? Although we come from quite different countries, the style of Thai temple architecture impresses all of us with the same surprising force. It is quite different from anything we have seen further east or further west. The Japanese try to grasp the unaccustomed height of the temples with their slender, aspiring columns and the extravagant use of varied materials and colors. The Indians are impressed above all by the roofs and the numerous small decorations which betray Chinese

influence. One of the Indians cannot get over the fact that the Prince Regent himself will conduct the holy ceremony as High Priest. He holds forth at length about how this demonstrates that Thailand is a Buddhist monarchy—the only one in the world—and that all the people of Thailand, with the exception of a few Mohammedan Malays in the south, belong to the same religion, that of Buddha. Coming from the country of many religions, of innumerable sects, and thousands upon thousands of gods, he can only repeat, "That is interesting, extremely interesting."

### *WHERE INDIA AND CHINA MEET*

We foreigners from the Occident, on the other hand, in spite of so much strangeness, feel one step nearer Europe. After Japan and China, lands of massive roofs and horizontal lines, these soaring columns remind us almost of Gothic architecture. When we find ourselves in one of the high temple-halls, with the sacred figure in the background, we are reminded much more of a Catholic church than of a Chinese or Japanese temple. The entrance, too, is at the narrow end of the building and not at the side as elsewhere in the Orient, and the walls are massive and windowed. Strangely enough, in their bizarre forms and glorious colors, the temples of Bangkok offer the European just that which he usually expects to find in the Orient, while in the details of their construction they are more closely related to the buildings of the west than of the Far East.

We are still philosophizing about this "Country where India and China meet," and agree that the Thai race, in spite of influence from the east and the west, has not disintegrated, but rather has developed its own original style. Suddenly we are startled by loud music. The people bow their heads: the Prince Regent is coming! With a friendly smile he walks through the crowd into the temple and bows before the image of Buddha. After a while he appears in the colonnade with a lighted candle in

his hand, and the high officials and officers approach him one by one to light their candles from his. Then the procession, with the Prince Regent at its head, slowly walks three times round the temple. In the meantime the night has become quite dark. The crowd, silent and respectful, watches the candle procession of their highest ruler, the representative of their boy-king. Each time the Regent passes the entrance the music becomes louder, then to die down again.

After the Prince has left with his retinue the whole crowd, with candles and sticks of incense, begins a procession round the temple. Tonight this is happening not only at the Wat Phra Keo, but in all the other temples in Bangkok. Buddhist nation! Buddha is the supreme Lord and Master, and his earthly representative is the King.

#### *DEVOUT THAILANDERS*

The Thai are a religious people. Almost every Thai has, as a young man, spent at least two or three months as a monk in a monastery, while many like later on to retire into a monastery for a considerable time. During this period the strict rules of the monastery must of course be observed. Every morning for example, the monks have to go round with their bowls to beg for their daily rice themselves. Moreover, they may eat nothing after twelve noon. Phya Bahol, the leader of the revolution of 1932, now known as an "elder statesman," recently withdrew into a monastery for some time, while the present Prime Minister and energetic leader of the nation, Luang Bipul, is about to do the same thing for several weeks.

There are no sects in Thailand; all adhere equally to the Hinayana (the southern branch of Buddhism, originated in Ceylon). For this reason all the priests and monks are similarly dressed in yellow, and this yellow of the monk's robe forms part of the characteristic and everyday picture of Thailand. There is hardly a town or village which does not contain several temples and

in which one does not meet innumerable yellow-robed monks. Every day school, too, begins and ends with prayers during which not even the teacher may dare to enter the classroom.

The Buddhist religion forms the basis of this nation's way of life, regardless of whether it may be the old Thailand or the new.

#### *BANGKOK MODERNIZED*

Although the Thai are so deeply influenced by their religion, it does not mean that they have not developed in the course of history. Particularly during the last ten years these people have effected great changes and made the utmost effort to attain universal modernization. Whoever expects to see only fine old temples, bronze statues, and Sawankalok bowls will learn differently the first time he drives through the city.

The city of Bangkok consists of the business quarter, forming more or less the centre of the city, and a large residential district, containing mainly private houses, built in western or Thai style, and Government buildings.

The business quarter reminds one of the large coastal cities of China, from Tientsin to Canton. And not without reason, for this part of the city is built in the Chinese manner and is inhabited mainly by Chinese. Even the western-style buildings, the "New Road" and the foreign business houses, banks, and consulates, fit into the picture, for they too can be found everywhere in China. The economic life of Thailand, especially its commerce and trade, is still largely in the hands of Chinese, who, during the last few decades, have immigrated into Thailand in large numbers. However, the Government is making every effort to change this situation, and today numerous large and purely Thai economic enterprises already exist.

Of course there is no room in the densely populated old business quarter, with its narrow streets and dirty

canals, for new building activities. For this reason the city is extending further and further. Out in the residential district are many new houses: administration buildings, schools, and factories. Right in the country, sometimes in places where the roads have not yet been completed, modern buildings with flat roofs have arisen in the last few years, testifying to the Thais' will to progress and development. One is reminded of Hsinking, the capital of Manchukuo, where a new city also arose quite recently from the fields.

In strange contrast to the modern buildings are the Thai dwellings, standing on piles over six feet high. This way of building resembles that of the Malays and the Filipinos. Only the temples and most of the royal palaces of the Thai are built on firm ground. This can probably be traced to Indian influence, as the Thai religions, Buddhism and Brahmanism—the latter at one time temporarily exercising great influence—came from India.

Looking at the farmers' huts in the surroundings of Bangkok, one can immediately determine whether they are inhabited by a Thai or a Chinese family: one lives on high stilts, the other stays close to the "good earth." The Thais are occupied almost exclusively with the cultivation of rice and fruit, while nearly all vegetables are grown by Chinese.

### TROPICAL TRAFFIC

In Bangkok one can never forget one is in the tropics. This eternal heat! Even in the coolest months, December and January, the mercury rarely drops below seventy degrees, and in the hottest period, in April, it often hovers for days at over a hundred. The rainy season begins in May and lasts well into the autumn. During this time it does not, it is true, rain incessantly, however there are showers nearly every day, relieving the heat for a few hours. Life in the city is entirely adjusted to the tropical climate. All the houses, even the foreign ones, are without glass windows; during heavy

rain one simply closes the shutters. Also the walls of the houses are provided with numerous slits and openings to let the air pass through.

The trams and buses are entirely open, with no doors or windows. There are no special bus-stops: one can get on anywhere—a pleasant arrangement, for in that heat one is glad to save oneself every unnecessary step. In addition to these means of transportation and to the taxis and private cars, there is a special vehicle in all the larger places in Thailand—the "samlo," meaning "three wheels." It is a tricycle with a fairly wide seat behind the driver with room for two people. It is therefore a kind of rickshaw with a man riding instead of running. These samlos are much faster and more popular than the old-style rickshaws, which are rapidly disappearing.

Of course the work of the samlo-driver causes him to sweat almost continuously. Sometimes there are two grown-ups, one or two children, and a lot of baggage in a samlo, but in spite of the load the driver dashes through the streets with incredible speed. Fortunately nearly all the roads of Bangkok, with the exception of the business quarter, are fine avenues with great shady trees. Many of these avenues were laid out by King Chulalongkorn, who reigned at the turn of the century. His motto was, "My people shall walk in the shade."

### "KLONGS," A MALODOROUS SUBJECT

Bangkok has not only streets but also innumerable canals, called "klongs," which carry a large part of the traffic. Many people do not own a house, living instead entirely in their boats, just as in Canton and South China. Every day a large market is held on the water, where mainly fruit and vegetables are for sale. If one wants to buy, one must, of course, go there by boat.

These klongs of Bangkok have been given a rather unfortunate reputation by the authors of many travel-books. The reason for this is their indescrib-



able filthiness; the water is brownish, often even black, and evil-smelling. The foreigner is shocked to see people washing laundry and vegetables in this water, and even bathing in it. Actually the Thai are a cleanly people, a fact that is often not believed by those foreigners who only know Bangkok. I have visited many towns and little villages from the extreme north to the extreme south of the country, and have seen nothing but clean, well-kept houses and huts. I also saw everywhere that the people bathe several times a day in the rivers which, in the country, are clean and limpid, and that they are always cleanly dressed. One gains the impression that the Thai are not yet properly accustomed to life in a city of the size of Bangkok, and that they make the mistake of transplanting rural customs into the city.

Improvements are gradually being effected, and Bangkok has had a water system for many years, so that at least for boiling their rice people can use water from the tap and not from the filthy klongs. But as yet there is not enough opportunity for clean bathing. The heat is so unbearable and the desire for a cooling bath so great that people prefer to go into dirty water rather than give up bathing altogether. The Thai really have a craze for bathing; not only do humans bathe continually, but also animals, especially the water-buffaloes. In the evening one can often see humans and water-buffaloes seeking coolness in the river side by side — a picture of peace. Sometimes tiny children, still unable to walk properly, crawl by themselves to the nearest fountain, where they sit under the jet of water, squeaking with joy.

#### *WHERE DO THE THAI COME FROM?*

Among the many tribes that, in the course of time, were forced out of the enormous Chinese territory by the astonishing power of expansion of the "Sons of Han," the Thai are the only ones who have succeeded in retaining their integrity, thanks to their ability

in founding and maintaining a state. The Thai are a Mongoloid race, related to the Chinese, which has strongly intermixed with other races. In prehistoric times they inhabited the north as far as the Yellow River and later, about two thousand years ago, the present-day provinces of Szechuan, Yunnan, and Kweichow. In the first and second centuries A.D., Chinese pressure forced one part of the Thai toward the southwest, so that they came to the territories of present-day North Thailand and North Burma. From then till the thirteenth century the influx of Thai gradually pouring into what is now Thailand and French Indo-China never ceased. The first small Thai principalities came into existence, and there began the conflict with the Khmer civilization, the greatest example of which is Angkor.

Nevertheless, a large part of the Thai race remained in China until the thirteenth century, mainly in present-day Yunnan, where the Thai occupied the great Nanchao Empire from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries. From here they undertook wars of conquest, which temporarily took them as far as Szechuan, Tibet, Burma, and a great part of French Indo-China. Often, however, the Chinese had the upper hand, and at the end of the ninth century a Thai king, worn out by many wars, declared himself a vassal of the Emperor of China. This had also happened from time to time in previous centuries. After this until the end of the eighteenth century the Chinese considered the Thai kingdoms as vassal states.

The Nanchao Empire was destroyed in 1253 by the assault of the world-conquering Mongols. The Nanchao-Thai followed their brothers, who had been wandering southwards for a thousand years, into the territory of what is now Thailand. Not until then did the real national history of the Thai in Thailand begin. The pressure they exerted on the neighboring Cambodians forced these to transfer their capital in 1431 from Angkor to Phnom Penh.

## "THAILAND" AND "SIAM"

The word "Siam" appeared comparatively late in the history of the Thai. Originally it was only the designation for a small district which later (as often happens in history) became the name of the whole country. The expression Thai is in relation to Siamese more or less what the designation Slav is to Russian. With the decision of the National Assembly in Bangkok of 1939 to change the name of the country from Siam to Thailand, Thailand raises the political claim to embody in one great empire all Thai and not only the Siamese.

Among the people belonging to the Thai race, more than half live in neighboring lands. The Laos, inhabiting large territories in French Indo-China, are now called Northern Thai in Bangkok, and the Shan in Burma are called Western Thai. The Thai maintain that there are now forty million people belonging to the Thai race. This figure, however, seems exaggerated. In Thailand itself there are ten to eleven million Thai, in French Indo-China about two million Laos, and in Burma about the same number of Shan. There are only divergent estimates of the number of Thai left in China, but one can hardly suppose that the total number of more or less pure Thai exceeds twenty to twenty-five million.

### *THE REVOLT OF 1932*

Thailand is one of the countries where old-fashioned and modern organizations and customs continue to exist side-by-side. The last decade seems to have been the period of greatest progress. It began with the revolt of 1932, which turned the absolute into a constitutional monarchy. The change of the constitution at that time took place comparatively smoothly and without bloodshed; it had more the character of a reform than that of a revolution. The prestige and popularity of the royal house, which was then robbed of its absolute prerogatives, were in no way diminished by the reform. This was especially

apparent three years ago when the King, who is only fifteen and is being educated in Switzerland, came on a visit to Bangkok. The entire population turned out to greet their young ruler. As the King has not yet reached his majority he is now represented by the Prince Regent.

As a result of the overthrow, younger and more energetic men took over leading positions, men who till then had had scant chance of participating in the government. Under the absolute monarchy all important positions were occupied almost exclusively by princes and members of the royal house, while the educated upper class had but little influence. The reform at the time was instigated mainly by the army, and the present Government is consequently formed preponderantly by officers. The leading personality of the Government is the Prime Minister, Major-General Luang Bipul, who simultaneously occupies other important posts. One can say that new Thailand is led by the military. The main efforts of the Government during the last few years have been directed toward the country's economic advance and the raising of a healthy and capable youth.

### *ECONOMIC EFFORTS*

Thailand economically is in a rather difficult position, being still too dependent on other nations. In former times too little was done for the development of the country, and it cannot be expected that this loss should be made up in a few years. Almost as large as Japan (without Formosa and Korea) and larger than Italy, Thailand has only fourteen million inhabitants. While most countries in Asia are overpopulated, Thailand is the only one that is underpopulated. Doubtless many more millions of people could live there.

The main exports are rice and wood, also tin and rubber which are produced in the south of the country on the Malay Peninsula. The export of rice could no doubt be multiplied by the reclamation of large wastelands. In many districts

where only one crop a year is harvested, two crops could be harvested if the irrigation system were improved, so that the rice could also grow during the dry season. Up till now the people saw no necessity for a more intensive cultivation, as they had always enough to live on. Famines such as devastate China and India are practically unknown.

The country needs larger exports in order to acquire the necessary means for building up industry. In Thailand there is even less industry than, for example, in China. Experience has shown that countries without industry can hardly maintain themselves in the struggle for existence, since industry is the basis of defense. It is impossible to raise a formidable army if every piece of equipment, from leather-straps to cannons, must be imported from abroad.

What Thailand needs, and what the present Government is now trying to launch, is a general boom, as all domains of economic life—industry, commerce, trade, and agriculture—are so closely interwoven that one requires the flourishing of the other to exist healthily.

To the industrial backwardness must be added another weakness: the lack of interest, one can almost say the distaste of the Thai for commerce. The Thai really only have two professions—they are either rice farmers or officials. (We need not mention here the more primitive tribes, living in Thailand yet not belonging to the Thai race, as they form only an unimportant minority.) There is little left of the traditional crafts such as silver and lacquer work or weaving.

Commerce as well as crafts were until recently exclusively in the hands of Chinese, Indians, and other foreigners, i.e. Europeans, Americans and Japanese. The Chinese, however, had a definite preponderance.

### *TWO MILLION CHINESE*

Of a total population of fourteen million, there are two million Chinese.

Considering their proverbial diligence and business ability, one can readily imagine the influence the Chinese exercise in Thailand. Since economic power may easily entail political influence, the main effort of the Government is directed towards recapturing economic key-positions for the Thai. Consequently very strict measures have been taken against Chinese immigration, which had assumed extraordinary proportions during the last fifty years.

The attempts of the Government to regain the economic lead for the Thai have encountered many difficulties. First there are inhibitions of a psychological nature, innate in the Thai; secondly, the Chinese and other foreigners do not allow themselves to be easily supplanted. One reason that the Chinese regard the Government's efforts at independence with suspicion is that lately the Thai have been trying for a closer economic co-operation with Japan. The Chinese, with their rather anti-Japanese feelings, are resisting this tendency, and often find an ally in the British, who have always had a strong financial and economic influence. Up till now most of the exports went to different parts of the British Empire. In fact the important tin production went exclusively to Penang and Singapore, as there is not a single smelting-plant for this ore in Thailand. Also in their imports—of gasoline, for example—the Thai are completely dependent on England and the Netherlands East Indies.

### *EXEMPLARY EDUCATION*

Realizing that the economics of a country cannot, after all, be organized only from above, but that they are dependent on the people, the Thai Government has directed its main attention during the last few years toward the education of youth. I believe that the successful reorganization of education is the greatest achievement of the Government since the revolt of 1932. When one sees the numerous new schools and the present-day youth of Thailand, one gathers the impression



that this people has a promising future, even if, according to our standards, much is still painfully backward.

I have traveled a great deal in China, where, for the last twenty years, new plans for the "final" abolishment of illiteracy have been announced over and over again. Although some improvement can be seen, I have found that a large part of these "final" plans is still on paper. In Thailand this is not the case. Today all children, except those of primitive tribes living in distant jungles, go to elementary school.

One should insert here that the Thai, though originating from the territory of present-day China, and with a language of purely Chinese origin, do not use the difficult Chinese characters; instead they have a phonetic system of writing, similar to the Indian and Malayan. Without doubt this fact simplifies the struggle against illiteracy. In fact, the proximity of Indian and Chinese influence is one of the characteristics of Thailand. Even the outward appearance of the Thai race reveals that it must have intermixed considerably with Indians, Cambodians, and Malays. A large proportion of the Thai race is today much darker than their ancestors, who were a purely Mongoloid tribe when they emigrated from China to the territory of present-day Thailand.

Furthermore, new middle schools and especially trade schools were founded by the Government in order to train a new generation of tradesmen and craftsmen. It also aimed at directing the interest of young students towards natural science and technology. For hitherto, Thai students, regardless of whether they were studying abroad or in their native Chulalongkorn University, were interested in little but the Beaux Arts. These efforts were successful, for in the last two years the enrolment at the Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok for the courses in engineering and medicine has risen considerably.

## THE SYMBOLS OF NEW THAILAND

If I were asked what I considered to be the symbol of the new Thailand, I would answer: the school-house and the Yuvajon, the great youth-organization of Thailand. Everywhere there are new schools. In every town and village they are the most striking buildings. Sometimes they are at the very edge of the jungle, where snakes crawl and monkeys play screaming in the trees. These schools are beautifully built according to sensible plans. I had the opportunity of visiting many schools in different parts of the country, and everywhere I was delighted by the pleasant manners, the discipline, and the eagerness of the children. The young people are quite different from the older generation, much more nationally-minded and anxious to serve their country. In every school in Thailand, from kindergarten to the University, the national flag with its red, white, and blue stripes is solemnly raised every morning, while pupils and students stand at attention. Of course, also in the realm of education everything cannot be done at once, so that in practice there are still some things lacking. For instance there is a shortage of modern teaching equipment; in the middle schools the equipment for teaching chemistry and physics is still quite insufficient.

All school-children in Thailand wear the same uniform—the girls usually blue skirts and white blouses, the boys greenish-khaki jackets and shorts. Many boys wear a red band around their caps as a sign that they are members of the Yuvajon.

## YUVAJON

It is not every boy who can become a member of the Yuvajon. He must first undergo a test and a medical examination. The membership is voluntary, and greatly sought after. Although the training is very strenuous, every boy wants to become a member.

The organization of the Yuvajon is chiefly the work of Colonel Prayoon Montri, Vice-Minister of Education,

who is the leader of the movement. It may be noted in passing that Thai names are often used incorrectly by foreigners. When I was in Tokyo before leaving for Thailand, I often heard of the Vice-Minister of Education, "Colonel Montri," who happened to be in Tokyo at the time. In Bangkok I immediately made enquiries about "Colonel Montri," but no one knew who I was talking about. Finally it turned out that in his country he is called Colonel Prayoon. The real family-name is hardly ever mentioned in Thailand, and even in the case of well-known men one sometimes does not know what their family is really called.

The Yuvajon is an organization similar to the youth movements in Japan and in Germany. The fact that active army officers are in charge of the training, and not, as in Germany, young leaders from the ranks of the movement, is reminiscent of the Japanese system. On the other hand the Yuvajon, as a unified, national organization, exists independently of the schools, much like in Germany.

The supreme aim of the Yuvajon is to strengthen the young people's national consciousness, spirit of sacrifice, and eagerness to serve. Almost purely military methods are used to reach this goal. First place is given to discipline, drill and athletics. These boys with their marching, drilling, and sharp-shooting seem more like young cadets from a military school. Duty is very strict. Every Saturday, for instance, the Yuvajon have to carry out military maneuvers for three to four hours in full uniform and armed with a carbine. I have seen these boys drilling on a large square in Bangkok with the temperature at 107 degrees. Under the tropic sun the cement square radiated a paralyzing heat. The boys sweated so much that there was not a dry shred of clothing left on them, and the soaked uniforms appeared quite dark.

### TANKS AND TEMPLES

It is sometimes said that the Thai have been weakened through centuries

of living in a tropical climate and that they have lost their powers of physical endurance and resistance. I believe that this is at most a half-truth, and that their weakness is more of a psychological nature and can consequently be overcome by will-power. In any case, Thai studying abroad, where sport is more popular than was until recently the case in Thailand, have proved to be quite the equals of other students. Incidentally, it is amusing that these children of the tropics make excellent skiers when the opportunity arises.

On June 24, Thailand's National Day, a large military display of the Yuvajon took place in Bangkok. On one side of the square a sort of Maginot Line had been constructed, with several concrete domes and artificial tank-traps. This was attacked by fourteen to eighteen-year-old members of the Yuvajon in a completely modern manner, with motorized troops, tanks, artillery, and airplanes. The "battle" lasted about forty minutes. The thunder of the artillery duel was ear-splitting, airplane-motors roared overhead, and tanks and flame-throwers spat terrifying fire. Finally a large white flag appeared; the garrison surrendered, the fortifications having collapsed under the artillery-fire and the bombs.

The entire maneuver was carried out by boys; only the airplanes were manned by regular soldiers. At the end a parade under the command of Colonel Prayoon was held before the Prince Regent.

As we drove home, the tanks rattled past the walls of the picturesque palace and the Wat Phra Keo, a symbol of Thailand today: old temples and royal palaces with weird, colorful roofs, towers, and stupas—and modern tanks. Thailand too has entered, for better or for worse, the ranks of nationalistic states and follows the familiar modern pattern. The tropic land of jungles, elephants, and beautiful old Wats, is determined to arm, and to maintain its independent position in the present world of tension and danger.



Yellow robed Buddhist high priest at golden lacquer gate of temple



Water buffalo walking in rice fields among sugar palms. The natives tap the palms for syrup

Thailand  
Old and  
New



Life on the "Klongs," the canals of Bangkok

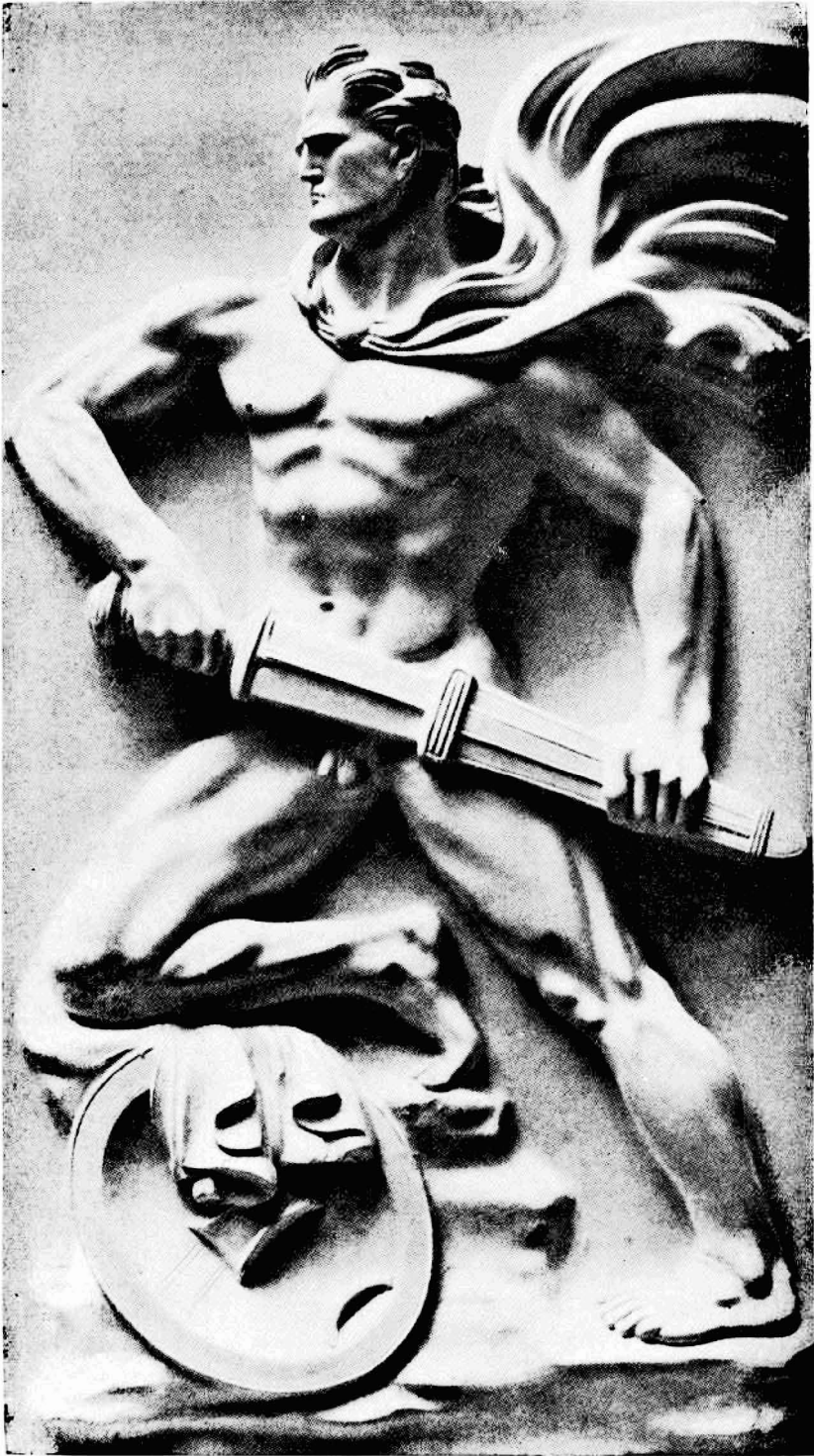


Girl section of the Yuvajon



Samlos in front of modern post office in Bangkok, built by a Thai architect





THE GUARDIAN, by Arno Breker  
A modern sculptor's conception of a warrior

## Thirty million men march at these men's orders

U.S.A. :  
General Marshall,  
(Chief of Staff)



JAPAN :  
Lieutenant-General Tojo,  
(Minister of War)



Major-General McNair,  
(Chief of Staff of the  
Armies' General Head-  
quarters)



General Hata,  
(C. in C., Japanese Expeditionary  
Forces in China)



General Drum,  
(Commander of the First  
Army)



General Itagaki,  
(C. in C, Japanese-Korean  
Garrison)



Lieutenant-General Lear  
(Commander of the Second  
Army)



General Araki,  
(Former Minister of War)



A comparison of these portraits shows that each group represents a national type radically different from any other. There is as little similarity between the American and the Japanese faces as between those of the Prussian noblemen and the Russian peasants.

**Sixteen faces—  
four national types**

**GERMANY:**

Field-Marshal von Keitel,  
(Chief of the Supreme  
Command of the German  
Armed Forces)

**U. S. S. R.:**

Lieutenant-General Rychagov,  
(Chief of the Soviet Air Force)



Field-Marshal von Brauchitsch,  
(C. in C., German Army)



Marshal Voroshilov,  
(Commander of the  
Northern Front)

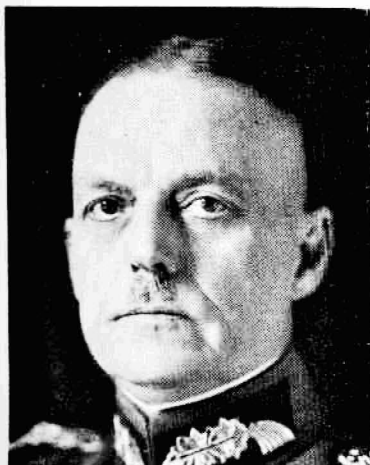


**Commanders of the Central Front**

Field-Marshal von Bock



Marshal Timoshenko



**Commanders of the Southern Front**

Field-Marshal von Rundstedt



Marshal Budenny

These men incarnate the spirit  
of the armies they lead, armies  
composed of the flower of youth  
of four great nations.



## NO WILD MEN IN BORNEO

By HILAIRE DU BERRIER

*Ours is a very serious world. We are living in the crescendo of a great human catastrophe. Yet fortunately there are always some who see the bright side. Their humor, their story-telling talent make us relax and smile. This is what Hilaire du Berrier does with his story of Borneo—Borneo that may well be on the front pages in another few months.*

*Hilaire du Berrier, born on the edge of the Sioux Indian Reservation in North Dakota, has been a soldier-of-fortune, a painter, a writer, and a wanderer ever since they threw him out of military school in America.*

*One of his first jobs was demonstrating parachutes and hanging under airplanes on a rope ladder for a flying circus; his most amusing and least profitable one, he says, was representing French arms and Dutch airplanes in the Balkans with a Hungarian Baroness for a business partner. They gave dinners in twenty countries but never sold a gun.*

*He went through the war '35 and '36 in Ethiopia. He flew a pursuit plane in the Spanish Civil War, has lived in London and Paris and Monte Carlo, written articles on French Somaliland and Morocco.*

*In Paris du Berrier was a contributor to "Petit Parisien" and "Hebdo III", since then he has appeared in "Ken" and in "Esquire." The latter magazine will shortly publish a series of stories by him on European cities before the war.*

*Speaking of his experiences, he is immensely pleased when people call him an adventurer. Among princes, he says, it is a title, only among peasants an insult. He became a soldier-of-fortune because it seemed the only thing he could get into without having to join a union. It is really the world's oldest profession, half-way point between a firing-squad and a throne, nobler than diplomacy and fraught with danger, chief of which is always starvation.*

*Down on the Red Sea he became a Mohammedan; he believes the Arabs are right; a man should live by poetry and the sword.*

*He came to China in 1937 and got a job in the interior. Discharged, he was left to wander back to the coast as best he could when some Chinese decided he was a Japanese spy.*

*Later he became adviser to a Chinese general whom he worked six months for before he found out who the general was working for.—K.M.*

One day I was sitting in the lounge of the Hong Kong Hotel. It is like a mother's knee to a stream of traders, arms salesmen, journalists, missionaries, officers, and wanderers in general, who have found the East hot or long or thirsty or rocky beneath their uncertain feet.

Its yawning doors promise the peace of a cloister and the shelter a portcullis gives. Inside a boy with soft slippers

will serve you a drink of anything ice will float in, under an electric fan ("foong tse-tse" to him) for a fraction of what the peace of mind it brings is worth.

As I was sitting, lonely as only a stranger can be lonely in a colony considered so unattractive by its inhabitants that anyone, who came there without having to, is taken for a spy, an American navy-wife came in. She

was also a leper by passport, so we doubled our strength by sharing a table.

A little later a Canadian appeared accompanied by a Scotsman, and since, in a case like this, one has to take the good along with the bad—they couldn't sit with the navy-wife without taking me into the fold as well—one of the pleasantest experiences of my life resulted.

They were sailing for North Borneo in three days, aboard the *Mau Sang*, a Jardine freighter under the command of Captain Jowett, and while Jack Ellis, the Canadian, was lying to the navy-wife, Bill Mercer, the Scotsman, painted such a desolate picture of Sandakan to me, I immediately wanted to go there.

It was the best investment I ever made. For surely in this warped world where most of a wanderer's jaunts are among unsympathetic strangers and resemble nothing so much as the promenade of a mongrel dog through exclusive residential districts with a can tied to him, meeting the sort of people you find in Sandakan is worth any price.

The problem of a visa was an obstacle, because unfortunately the old days when all a man needed to gratify wanderlust and ease his itching feet was the price of a ticket are gone forever. In these days you must have an excuse for wanting to go someplace, and just an impulse to take a boat ride and see what some little port in the seas' by-ways looks like is no longer considered a legitimate one.

The matter was debated for some time, and in all due fairness to the men who sit in hot offices and have to bother with such things, for they could have kept me from that voyage, they at last compromised and gave me a visa. The "loyal opposition" in the visa office was won over with the agreement that they would telegraph ahead and warn Sandakan I was coming. Officials there could watch me so I couldn't do any harm, and thus a visa wouldn't matter, anyway.

We sailed out of Hongkong on the eleventh of November. I have never been able to understand why more people do not take that trip, for you could not live in any hotel in Hongkong as cheaply or as well as you could on that boat. Of course the stretch of sea between Hongkong and the Philippines is one of the roughest bodies of water a man with the whole world to choose from could ever hit on for a joy-ride, but life in Hongkong wasn't any too smooth either. Dooley, the first-mate, an Irishman born in India and hence known as Dooley Sahib, said he had stuck his hand out on the bridge and caught a fish. But after three days of this you go through a passage called the "hole-in-the-wall," between two Philippine Islands, into the Sulu Sea. Days begin to get warmer, seas bluer, and stomachs less acrobatic.

Along about 4:00 p.m., little Captain Jowett, Commodore of the line and one of the finest skippers that ever wore gold braid, will send a boy down to ask if you would like a drink. This happens every afternoon. It gets kind of lonely up in the Captain's quarters, and the Skipper can tell a story with the best of them. When he finishes he turns his blue eyes on you and says: "Now what do you think of that, lad?"

And if you are truthful you answer: "Skipper, just knowing you is better than a Cook's tour."

Jack Ellis, the second officer, and Bill Mercer, whom I had met in the hotel, each had their own idea of a "NEW DEAL" we were going to work out for ourselves.

After the Skipper went to bed at night, I would climb up on the bridge where Ellis was on watch. From the cabin of Dooley Sahib, back aft, came the strains of grand opera on a gramophone; Dooley had all of them, catalogued and filed neatly in a cabinet facing his library. If there wasn't music, Dooley would be reading, a drink in one hand, a book in the other, and his bald pate, smooth as a billiard ball,

nodding when it pleased him. Dooley had read everything.

Up on the bridge Ellis would point out the stars, Orion's belt and Aldabaran and Castor and Pollux, and while explaining the mysteries of stellar navigation, he painted a glowing picture of how we would scour the China seas if we could only get the Chinese to let us take over one of those torpedo boats they had stored in Hongkong.

Afternoons while Ellis was sleeping, Bill Mercer, (or Tuan Mercer, hereafter, for Tuan means master and all foreigners are Tuan in Borneo) would lean over a ship's rail, under an awning on the leeward side and tell me how we could make a lot of money without any work, or at least not much:

A prospector's permit only costs five Straits Dollars. We could either shake a pan, like this: he showed me how. Or we could build a cradle: he drew a diagram. Or we could make a box sluice, like this, and I could carry the soil in buckets and dump it in the sluice while he poured water over it from some other buckets and at night all we had to do was pick the gold out. If we didn't want to carry the soil and water, we could hire the Dusans to do it. Dusans are the tribe around Sandakan.

Now between Captain Jowett's stories, Dooley Sahib's humor, Ellis whispering adventure in one ear and Tuan Mercer promising untold wealth in the other, with nothing to interrupt any of it but sleep, good meals, and drinks the ship's officers insisted on paying for, just for someone new to talk to, Raymond Whitcomb never conceived any entertainment program to match it.

After five days land began crowding down on us, islands became more numerous, and turning the bend beneath the leper colony, a beautiful green cliff rising out of the sea, we saw a few brown roofs between sea front and jungle and Tuan Mercer said this was Sandakan.

North Borneo, as few know, is not properly speaking a British Colony. It is the last of the old British Charter Companies, and practically everything in it is controlled by the all powerful Harrison and Crosfield Company. The Governor is chosen by the Charter Company, subject to approval by the British Government. Timber and rubber barons have built huge estates, founded industries, and created employment for the natives.

There are no railways in British North Borneo. Sandakan, the capital, is only a map's pin-prick, a niche for man to anchor a ship in, a clearing, and a handful of homes which a jungle is continually trying to push into the ocean.

Over the town are the same stories and emotions and problems we find over larger towns, only more personal because the radius is so small.

There is a hotel in Sandakan, but hospitable planters rarely let a stranger stay in it. A few hours after the boat docked, the Captain sent word that Tuan Walker, the rubber planter, had invited us to dinner for the following night. I had never heard of Mr. Walker, but he had heard a stranger was in town, and a stranger is better than a batch of new magazines in a place like that.

Sandakan would be an ideal spot for some old-time Western cowboy to ride the grub-line. A man can live there for his first month on invitations.

We came ashore, down a rickety dock and through a gate, up a narrow street to the village square where a Chinese was sleeping in a ramshackle car.

The Skipper majestically beckoned: "Tain Fook, a taxi." I don't know why he said "a" taxi. It was "the" taxi; and another interesting point to Tain Fook's taxi service was: he gave you a detailed resumé of the local gossip while driving. He would be invaluable to Somerset Maugham, if it weren't for the fact that Somerset Maugham has



already gleaned Sandakan of its confidences once and so doesn't dare come back again.

With Tain Fook telling us who was going to have a baby and who else was contemplating matrimony, the rattling car wound its way up a brown road, stopped for a minute by the entrance to Government House while the Skipper pointed out a small building. Said he: "Now the visitor's book is in there. You go in and sign it while I wait for you here. They don't like me around there because I'm not a Christian. No sir, I tell you I am not a Christian. Those Christians would crucify you without a qualm——."

As the car went on its way again, the road got narrower and more crowded by the jungle. It seems that as the colony was building that road, money got scarcer as the road went inland, and eventually it just dribbles off into jungle. Once in a while a little mouse deer runs across it, about twelve inches high, with legs the thickness of a cigarette and hoofs the size of your fingernail. He is a timid creature who calls to his mate by tapping one hoof. The Dusans will linger over a tender morsel of one and tell you the mouse deer's enemies are their enemies. A brief look at an intruder and the mouse deer dashes into the dense undergrowth by the road side.

Many of Martin Johnson's settings were faked on the edge of this road that old-timers in Borneo won't risk leaving for a short-cut.

From time to time you pass small groups of convicts wearing broad head-pieces to protect them from the sun, marching docilely along behind a Sikh guard with a rifle and bayonet. They are supposed to be working, pushing back a forest, but as the car passes they lean on their shovels to watch it. Both they and the Sikhs grin and wave to Tain Fook. Once when two groups of convicts were working together the two Sikhs got in an argument and started fighting, whereupon the convicts separated them and marched them

back to the prison, complaining that they couldn't work with guys like that.

Where the side-road turns off to Tuan Walker's plantation, a narrow-gauge track, about two feet apart, runs beside it. Tuan Walker has a little railway, run by a motor-cycle engine, that he uses when the big rains are on, and at the end of it there is a spacious Borneo house, a box-shaped structure, peaked to cut the rain and with three sides verandah.

A radio blares in the corner, but war and the Japanese are remote things, like the hardships of Napoleon's retreat from Russia.

When he wants more ice in his drink he asks for "stone water." If problems arise among the natives, Tuan Walker, who has spent twenty-nine years of his fifty-seven in Borneo, hears the case and pronounces judgment, and just off-hand I should say Tuan Walker must be extremely lenient, for he confided that he had liked every American he ever met.

Whisky and soda in Borneo is called a "stengah," and drinking it, the favorite indoor pastime of the colony, is known as getting "shikkerred," so unfortunately I can only give an account of the first part of the numerous dinners that were given for me in Sandakan.

Next morning Tuan Mercer started designing the sluice we were going to build. And that evening I dined at Leila Lodge, the largest home in Borneo, with Tuan Phillips, manager of one of the local companies. A hundred and fifty people at a time have been invited to Leila Lodge for cocktails back in the days when Sandakan was booming.

Now Tuan Phillips has a grand piano in one corner where he stops en route to the bathroom to play a bar or two of Rachmaninoff's prelude. A firm in England sends him out twenty or thirty pounds worth of books at a time, which he loans to his friends. If they don't

bring them back it is all right, they can't stray far in Sandakan.

Tuan Phillips has wandered in his day also, through Abyssinia and Arabia and Somaliland. All the legendary figures that have sprung up in the Near East and the Far were friends of his, and sometimes his neighbors will tell you: "You know, Phillips was a spy in Arabia during the war." He wasn't, and they don't mean any harm by saying he was; it just makes him a better story, and everyone takes it as that.

"Colonel Lawrence?" he says. "Why, of course I knew him. But Arabic scholar? My foot! He spoke Arabic like—," and here his eyes wander around the room till they come to rest on Dooley Sahib's bald head: "—like Dooley Sahib speaks English."

Coming back to the docks through the night, a motor-cycle went putt-putt-putt in the distance and Dooley Sahib muttered: "Tuan Mercer calling for a mate."

When one wants a hair-cut one doesn't go to the barber shop in Sandakan. One sends for Lopez, the barber, and he comes on a bicycle. While he cuts your hair he tells you what the Governor thinks of the situation or how the "Affair Gibby" is coming along.

The "Affair Gibby" is an old story, older than Somerset Maugham whom a hundred "Gibbys" have sworn to shoot if he ever comes East again.

It seems that the current Gibby had gone home on leave, leaving a pretty Malayan housekeeper and four little children to keep things going until his return. Back in London, with a new contract in his pocket and a raise in pay, he fell in love with the first white girl he saw and up and married her. Now as their boat approached Singapore tension on the island rose:

"Will he tell his wife? How adroitly will he get the housekeeper out of the house and upcoast before his bride gets there? What sort of a settlement will

he make the Malayan girl?" It is a situation most of them have been through themselves, and they chuckle at Gibby's discomfiture. In London it looks easy, a bagatelle, but as the boat nears Sandakan it is not so simple. And if Gibby isn't fair to the Malayan girl and her children the colony will all be with her. They are just people in Sandakan.

What the wife will say when she learns the Dusan language and starts picking up scraps of conversation is the prime subject of speculation among the women. It is a problem most of them understand also. Those who couldn't take it are gone and those who could are always interested in seeing how it works out this time.

From Lopez, the barber, and Tain Fook, the taxi-owner, Sandakan learns what is happening. Incidentally, you never pay Tain Fook cash. You sign a chit for your taxi bill, then forget all about it till the day you leave. Tain Fook will meet you at the dock. Lopez, the amiable Philippino, will have told him you are leaving.

The new lad in the Customs office went to a dinner one night at Government House, and on his way home, just gentlemanly "shikkered," he stopped for a last drink with agreeable companions. Tain Fook knew where; he took him.

And next morning, still in evening clothes, he showed up in church leading a demure little Malayan by the hand, in her best waist and sarong, with all her gold trimmings. She didn't want to come, but the Customs boy told her he would beat her ears off if she didn't go to church on Sunday, like a lady, so she went.

Customs Tuan listened attentively to the service, the little Dusan girl looked at her hands, some of the congregation snickered, and those who weren't there got the details from Lopez.

Customs Tuan went home on the next boat. This was Sandakan.

The American navy-wife we had the drink with in Hongkong hadn't seemed so beautiful when he was there, but back in Borneo every day made her seem more wonderful to Mercer.

He leaned over the design of the box sluice he was drawing, chewing the end of a pencil and thinking, his mind about equally divided between prospecting and the destroyer commander's wife.

Suddenly he said: "Yes sir, she is pure gold, no matter where you bite her."

Days passed. Captain Jowett looked for an alligator skin for his wife. Tuan Mercer changed his mind and decided on a cradle instead of a box-sluice. Dooley Sahib asked the Skipper: "Sure, an' what would you be wanting with an alligator?" Scornful of alligators was Dooley Sahib, except as pets.

"Ay, if I 'ad one," he said, "I'd 'ave his teeth pulled out when 'e reached the age of belligerency. Then I would 'ave him a false set made by a dentist, which same I would take away from him when it came time to sleep." Good old Irish, bald-headed Dooley!

He took me to a show one night, a cinema, where they showed trailers of all the films for months to come, a Mickey Mouse comedy, a newsreel two years old, and an ancient feature picture all jumbled up together.

As far as the natives were concerned who make up the bulk of the audience, it was all part of one long picture and their interpretation of it was probably better than the original. Trailers are made up of high lights, women slapping each other, men shooting, cars veering around corners; and the quiet natives looking at these things, sort of regard them as "newsreels" of the life wild men live outside of Borneo. Foreigners lost all faith in what they saw in movies after Martin Johnson and his wife made a film on the edge of town, but the natives are still unspoiled because they didn't recognize it.

Tuan McCloed rubbed whisky on Dooley's bald head while Mercer tried to sell him some stock in the prospecting company, to which Dooley Sahib replied: "An' as if it isn't enough, 'aving to live in a bloody place like this without the likes o' ye bedevilin' an' bewilderin' me!"

In the end we never dipped a pan. Tuan Mercer agreed we would stand more chance of striking gold if the Rajah of Sarawak had more daughters. Still that ticket to Sandakan was a good investment.

A few nights before I went away, it was the day Americans call Thanksgiving and eat turkey, the natives in Sandakan and all the islands around celebrated the feast of Hari Raya, marking the end of the Mohammedan holy month.

The foreigners in the capital (about fifty) contributed to a fund. The natives cut fronds from the big fan-palms, put up some tents and strung lights in a clearing in the forest. A board dancing floor was layed and some whisky (a taste acquired from pinching odd nips from master's bottle) set on a table loaded with native fruits and cakes.

A Dusan with a wicked knife-scar on his throat beat a monotonous time on a tom-tom, while another sawed chords on a violin. Dignitaries wearing black, half-tarbush skull caps, sat along one side. Other men stood behind them, women across the tent.

It was like a Gauguin painting: night and a drum pounding in the tropics. Native girls in sarongs and all their jewelry, gliding in a slow, shuffling dance, drugging themselves with music.

You could feel the tom-tom pounding in your temples, little feet hypnotically shuffling beneath a sarong, zig-zagging among the dancers in a long glide, now standing motionless, only arms moving. It went on hour after hour, hypnotic.



Expressionless faces and a beating tom-tom and a violin, and outside was a jungle and up above was a moon.

Tuan Mercer drank with a boy who worked for him, his boy's guest for a night, and the boy smiled. On this occasion he could say anything to his boss he wanted to, but it took some time to get up courage; then he said: "Tuan Mercer, you have best heart, hardest tongue, I ever see."

Profanity is the only form of self-expression most foreigners have in a place like this, but their boys know they don't mean it. All in all, from every aspect, Hari Raya was more fun than any Thanksgiving I ever went to.

But next morning at breakfast Captain Jowett said he was glad we were leaving. He liked Sandakan all right, but the *Mau Sang* didn't. No mother ever loved a first-born child more than the Skipper loved that wave-scarred, rusting hulk of a freighter. He wouldn't have traded it for the *Queen Mary*.

Rowing out to it in a sampan with a setting sun silhouetting it against the sea, you could see his lips moving and his head nodding as he admired it. He whispered, as though he were imparting a confidence: "You know, lad, a strange thing happened to me last night. Yes sir, a strange thing, lad. I was coming back aboard ship, and as I looked up at her bow there, like one would look at a lady, I saw her hawser pipe wink at me.

"Yes it did, lad. I said: 'What's the matter, lass?' and she said to me 'When are we going back to Hongkong?'

"I said: 'Sure now, an' don't you like this place, lass?' and proud as you please, she up and answered me: 'Not a bit of it, I don't. There's barnacles on me bottom and blisters on me top, and I want to get away from here, I do.'

"'Ay, lass,' I said, 'as soon as we are loaded we'll be going back to Hongkong, and by Friday night we ought to be on our way.'

"'Are we going back to the old buoy?', she asked, and I told her ay, we'd be back at the old buoy. 'Why, lass, do you like the old buoy?' I asked her, and she answered: 'Ay. I'm well-known there. I know all the big ships and all the little ones and they all know me. I'm happy at the old buoy.'

The old skipper turned his blue eyes questioningly on me and asked: "Now what do you think of that, lad?"

The last time Ellis and I rode from the Sandakan docks to where the *Mau Sang* was anchored out in the harbor, it was night, and each drop of phosphorescent water from the boat's oars fell on the black-green surface of the sea like a golden coin on a roulette table.

It was a dark night but the sea was so full of phosphorus it lit up the prow and sides of our boat and left a blue-gold wake behind us. I reached over and scooped up a handful. It was the nearest I ever came to touching gold in Borneo.

Looking at it I thought: What a shame, Travelogue-Fitzpatrick always says: "And so we reluctantly leave the island of———behind us," and then sails out in the afternoon. What he misses by never leaving at night!

Early next morning we went away, but some day I am going back to that place.

Besides, I have wondered ever since what Gibby's wife did and what Gibby told her. That affair of Gibby's was a story that Sandakan and I read together, up to the climax. Then I went away and Sandakan finished it alone, leaving me still wondering what happened.

# THE MAGAZINES OF JAPAN

By S. TAKAHASHI

*The variety and size of Japanese magazines, together with their huge circulation, come as a surprise to the Westerner visiting Japan. Usually considering magazines to be a peculiarly European or American institution, he finds in Japan countless newsstands and book-shops filled to the brim with magazines of all forms and descriptions.*

*Very few foreigners, even those living in Japan, know anything about the contents of the magazines which pour in a ceaseless stream from the printing-presses of Japan, influencing and shaping the mind of its people. Mr. Takahashi, who has long been connected with Japanese journalism, has kindly contributed an article on this subject.—K.M.*

## THE MAGAZINE IN JAPANESE LIFE

In Japan's cultural and spiritual life magazines play such an essential part that one can call them one of the most important organs of general education, enlightenment, and formation of public opinion. There are magazines for all ages—from tiny tots onwards—for all classes and professions, and for all demands and interests. The number of Japanese periodicals is extraordinarily large. According to the Magazine Year Book, published last July, there were in 1940 about 3,000 periodicals on sale to the public, over sixty of which were women's magazines. The publishing companies amalgamated in the recently founded Publishers' Association issue about 2,000 magazines. The remaining thousand not affiliated to this Association are probably such magazines as have either, under present conditions, ceased publication since 1940 or are no longer of any importance.

The leading magazines appear on the twentieth of each month. On this day newspapers carry huge publishers' advertisements with detailed tables of contents. A glance at a book-store or at the book-section of a department store will show the great importance of periodicals for the bookselling-trade. Japanese bookstores are, as a rule, entirely open to the street, and on

large tables usually projecting right out into the open there are piles of newly published magazines, besieged by people from early morning till closing-time. Before deciding to buy, one is allowed thoroughly to look through every magazine. Unkind tongues assert that there are people who go from bookstore to bookstore and in this manner read through all magazines of interest to them without spending a cent. Some such readers even go so far as to mark the magazine when they go home to lunch, so that they need waste no time in finding the place where they left off when they return later on.

## THEY ARE CHEAP

The price of Japanese periodicals is comparatively low. It ranges from thirty sen to one yen (seven to twenty-five U.S. cents at the official exchange rate.) On an average the large popular magazines containing about 300 pages cost sixty sen, while the serious magazines, which are of a much higher intellectual level, cost one yen for 350-400 pages. How can this low price be explained? First of all no importance is attached to outward appearance. The paper is of a very poor quality. The cover, as a rule, only shows the name of the magazine. Only in the case of popular magazines is the cover

made to look a little more colorful and attractive. Beyond that the popular magazines are profusely, but very simply, illustrated. The deciding factors for the cheap price are, of course, the huge circulation of most of the magazines and the large advertising they carry.

Of first rank among the more important periodicals are the four leading serious magazines: *Kaizo* (Reorganization), *Chuo Koron* (Central Review), *Nippon Hyoron* (Nippon Review), and *Bungei Shunju* (Current Literature). I call them serious magazines because of the high level of their political-economic-cultural contents, of which one or the other side is more or less emphasized by the various publications.

### EX-LIBERAL

In principle it can be said that until quite recently most of the leading magazines were of a strong liberal trend and thereby followed and encouraged the inclinations of the intelligentsia. The four magazines mentioned above are published mainly for the educated classes. This is apparent from the very style of printing. Japan uses the Chinese system of writing, and in addition has developed a phonetic script, called Kana. The popular magazines, designed mainly for entertainment, use only a limited number of Chinese characters, and even these are almost all furnished at the side with *furigana*, i.e. tiny signs of the Kana script giving the pronunciation and thereby also the meaning of the Chinese character. The four serious magazines, however, contain many more Chinese characters without the explanatory Kana signs. This fact alone is enough to determine fairly accurately the type of reader.

At present the afore-mentioned liberal tendency is, of course, hardly noticeable. The magazines have lately had to change their tone considerably and have thereby lost much of their original character. Today one can already speak of a far-reaching co-ordi-

nation of all publications along the lines of the current inner-political reform (*Shintaisei*). Most periodicals have officially abandoned their former stand and consciously placed themselves at the service of the reform. Without doubt the importance of this fact for the future development of Japan is not to be underestimated. If, here and there, something of the former tendency can still be glimpsed, this is because, on the whole, the contributors have remained the same and the final adjustment does require some time.

The magazine *Kaizo* (Reorganization) exists since 1919. Its former trend was rather leftist. It was founded at a time when Marxism happened to be the fashion also in Japanese intellectual circles. At present there is, of course, no longer any trace to be found of such tendencies. The magazine has its own publishing-house. The President of the *Kaizo* Publishing Company is Sanehiko Yamamoto, himself a well-known writer who quite recently, after his travels in Europe and America, appeared again in the limelight with numerous articles and books describing his impressions and views on the world situation.

### CONTRIBUTORS

Like nearly all periodicals, *Kaizo* has no fixed staff of collaborators. The articles are written by well-known journalists, writers, university professors, politicians, authors, etc., who publish their works in this or that magazine and are sometimes represented in the same month by different articles in several publications. In *Kaizo* political problems have first place.

A specialty of almost all Japanese magazines are the so-called *Zadankai* reports, i.e. reports on a discussion, arranged by the editors, by a number of experts on some specially controversial topic of political, economic or cultural nature. These reports are often very interesting and revealing. From time to time special supplements about unusually important questions are pub-



lished at a small increase in price of about twenty sen. The literary section of *Kaizo* is composed of a few poems, several new short stories, sometimes even a play or a novel in serial form. The same can be said of the other serious magazines.

### CIRCULATION

The circulation figures of Japanese periodicals are kept secret by the publishers and exact data are unobtainable. *Kaizo* and *Chuo Koron* are said to have a circulation of about 140,000 each. The largest circulation of the four magazines is supposedly that of *Bungei Shunju*. This, apart from its high standard, is probably due to the low price of only sixty sen for an issue of about 400 pages, while *Kaizo* and *Chuo Koron* cost one yen.

Since the outbreak of the China incident, the *Kaizo* Publishing Company, beside its large monthly, appearing every twentieth, also publishes a special number on the first of every month called *Jikyoku-han* (Current Events) which deals mainly with world-political questions of the day. It is thinner and has a far smaller circulation.

One of the oldest existing magazines is *Chuo Koron* (Central Review). It was founded in 1887 and is likewise published by its own company. *Chuo Koron* was formerly emphatically liberal. It has a very high intellectual standard and is addressed to the educated classes. Many Japanese say that one need only read *Chuo Koron* to be adequately informed on all important topics.

The magazine *Nippon Hyoron* (Japanese Review) has appeared since 1927. It was originally called *Keizai Orui* (Economic Review) and was re-named only quite recently. Economic questions still play an important part in it.

### THE BEST-SELLER

The most widely read of the four great periodicals, as indicated above, is *Bungei Shunju* (Current Literature),

founded in 1927. It is in spite of its name by no means a purely literary magazine, but is also of political-economic-cultural interest, with emphasis on the cultural side. The essay enjoys special consideration in *Bungei Shunju*. The President of its publishing company is Kan Kikuchi, one of the best-known and most widely read modern authors, who in addition to his numerous contemporary novels has also published several excellent popular history books. Since the outbreak of the China incident a special number of *Bungei Shunju* is published every month under the name of *Genchi Hokoku* (Reports from the Scene of Action), which has meanwhile developed into an independent magazine and which deals mainly with problems of the Asiatic sphere, events in China, and world problems connected more or less closely with them.

In addition to these four outstanding periodicals, a few others deserve mention. One of the newest is *Koron* (Review). It was founded in 1939 in connection with the great national reform movement and is considered an excellent exponent of the new spirit of Japan. It has quite a high standard and deals mainly with problems of the Japanese and Greater Asiatic spheres.

This spirit of Japan is also strongly emphasized in the magazine *Gendai* (The Present Day). Although in existence since 1920, it was formerly chiefly devoted to light reading. It is only recently that it has attained a much higher standard, so that it could really be ranked with the four great serious magazines. The contents are mainly of a politico-cultural nature, and it is addressed primarily to university students.

### THE KODANSHA COMPANY

*Gendai* is published by the Nippon Yuben Kodansha Company, the biggest publishing-house in Japan, which issues a number of the best-known children's and popular magazines, starting with picture-books, and all very national and educational. The nine great magazines of the Kodansha Company make up

seventy-five per cent of the total circulation of all Japanese publications. The founder of this company was Seiji Noma, a former elementary school-teacher, who recognized the great value of magazines for national education, and who, out of almost nothing, created the colossal enterprise of the Kodansha Publishing Company.

The oldest publication of this company is *Yuben* (Eloquence), which exists since 1919 and is also widely read. It is written more or less in popular style and its contents are partly entertaining, partly instructive.

However, the most important contribution of Mr. Noma to the development of the Japanese magazines was his idea to publish the *Kodan Club* through which he introduced the treasures of Japanese folklore into the society of printed words. At first, it is true, his plan seemed a failure. While waiting several months for the sales agents to return the unsold copies, he had no idea of how his magazine was selling. In his autobiography he describes how he finally learned the sad truth: "Only 1,800 out of the 10,000 copies of the first issue had been sold, the remaining 8,200 unsold copies poured back upon us like a cloudburst from the angry heavens and filled our 'store-house' up to the ceiling. The second issue had fared no better and we were flooded with five or six thousand unwanted copies. The third deluge of as many returned magazines all but swamped us. It is impossible adequately to convey the black despondency into which I sank at the sight of this incredible pile of unsold goods."

But he stuck it out. To quote him again: "Call it hope, confidence, vision—what you will—a man who is whole-hearted in his devotion to any work has certain convictions that the work will succeed whether or not it seems promising to other eyes. From the start, and in spite of the most forbidding appearances for over half a year, I knew that this *Kodan Club* would be all right in the end.

"After a year things began to mend. We saw the *Kodan Club* in the barber's shop with waiting customers gloating over its pages; we saw it in the hands of passengers in trams and trains. It was despised by highbrows and superior women at first, but it was read by workmen, *rikisha* men and shop apprentices. By and by it made an ascent in the social scale. Nurses in hospitals and doctors would recommend it to convalescents. Statesmen and business men whose brains were taxed by grave problems found in the *Kodan Club* food for mental relaxation. The latest science and philosophy may teach us a great deal, but there is something in the words and deeds of our less sophisticated fore-fathers, as told by the skilled tongues of professional romance-narrators, which can thrill our hearts and make us look back wistfully upon the old days. After a year the *Kodan Club* was doing fairly well in its sales." After that, Noma moved from success to success.

#### POLITICS, LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY

The best-known political monthlies are *Sekai Orai* (World Review), in existence since 1936, and *Nippon oyobi Nipponjin* (Japan and the Japanese), like *Chuo Koron*, one of the oldest Japanese magazines, existing since 1888. It will be noticed that most periodicals are of recent origin; only very few have been appearing since before the World War.

The best-known magazine for foreign politics is *Kokusai Hyoron* (1936). As leading economic magazines one should name: *Jitsugyo no Nippon* (Economic Japan), existing since 1897 and appearing fortnightly; *Economist*, published three times a month since 1913 by the *Osaka Mainichi* (a daily newspaper); *Diamond*, also founded in 1913 and published three times monthly; and *Toyo Keizai Shimpo* (Far Eastern Economic News), the oldest of all, dating from 1895. The English titles of both the newer economic magazines are significant of the hitherto strong Anglo-American ties of Japanese economics.

There are numerous literary magazines. The following deserve special mention: *Shincho* (New Currents), published since 1904 by the Shincho Publishing-House, and *Bungei* (Literature), founded in 1933 and published by the Kaizo Company. The aforementioned Bungei Shunju Publishing Company also issues, since 1935, the magazine *Bungakukai* (Literary World).

The philosophical magazine with the highest standard is *Shiso*, (Thought), published since 1921 by the Iwanami Company. Another well-known philosophical monthly is *Riso* (The Ideal), founded in 1927 and published by its own company.

### POPULAR MAGAZINES

Amongst the innumerable popular magazines some of the best-known may be mentioned here. The largest and probably the most widely read of all Japanese magazines is *King*, reputed to have a circulation of about 800,000. It has been issued since 1925 by the Kodansha Publishing Company, which should suffice to indicate its patriotic tendency. Apart from the purely entertaining section, *King* also contains popular and intelligible interpretations of problems touching on the national existence of Japan. This very tendency is even more strongly emphasized in the second great popular magazine *Hinode* (Sunrise), published since 1932 by the Shincho Company.

### WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Heading the numerous women's magazines is the *Shufu no Tomo* (The Housewife's Friend). Founded in 1917, it is published by its own company and, like *King*, has a circulation of about 800,000. On account of its excellent literary section it is also highly esteemed by the masculine world. Occupying second place is *Fujin Kurabu* (The Women's Club, club being pronounced *kurabu* in Japan). This magazine has appeared since 1920 and is another product of the Kodansha

Publishing Company. *Fujin Koron* (Women's Review) has been issued since 1916 by the publishers of the big monthly *Chuo Koron*, and appeals to more educated women. *Fujin no Tomo* (The Women's Friend) exists since 1910. It was founded by Mrs. Tomoko Hani, who is very well-known for her part in women's activities; it shows a certain Christian influence and is also much read in educated circles. For the younger, more modern feminine world the *Shinjoen* (The New Garden) has been published since 1937.

Among various children's magazines there is the newly-founded *Shin Wakodo* (New Youth) which enthusiastically supports national education of youth.

Finally two periodicals born out of latest political developments may be mentioned: *Tairiku* (The Mainland) and *Taiyo* (The Pacific Ocean). The titles are sufficient to give an idea of their contents and readers.

### THE FUTURE

As in many other spheres the development of the last decade has been towards ever greater numbers. The present political and spiritual co-ordination will, however, probably bring about many changes and do away with many periodicals not mentioned in this article. For instance, it is already intended henceforth to permit only about ten women's magazines to appear, instead of the sixty now published. For economic reasons and for the purpose of a general improvement in standard, such a step may have its advantages. This movement towards centralization is probably being supported by the recently formed Association of Publishers, which is under the supervision of Government authorities.

The Government's interest in the Japanese magazines is the result of their deep influence on the life of the people. There is probably no country in which magazines play a greater educational or national role than in Japan.



## MODERN WAR IN ANCIENT CHINA

By T. F. HSU

*The proud Westerner has reluctantly accepted as a fact that the Chinese knew the uses of the printing press, the compass, and explosives long before Europe discovered them. But here comes Mr. Hsu, whose hobby it is to write on things Chinese, to tell us that three thousand years ago the Chinese knew all about dive bombers, flame throwers, chemical and bacteriological weapons, and various other characteristics of modern warfare. However he admits that they existed only in the Chinese imagination. In this, we might say the ancient Chinese were fortunate.—Our illustrations are taken from a popular edition of the novel described.—K.M.*

When Chinese pick up their morning papers these days, they often pause to pinch themselves to see if they are not dreaming of a world depicted in a popular folk-tale known throughout China for many centuries; for, under big headlines, they find exciting word-pictures of the three-dimensional modern war which seem to have been taken from the pages of the old Chinese best-seller.

There is indeed an amazing resemblance between the technical achievements of modern military scientists and the imaginary contraptions of the inventive anonymous Chinese author.

The novel in question is *Feng Sheng Pang* (封神榜), which literally means "The Appointment of the Gods," and tells of a titanic struggle in the last days of the Shang Dynasty about three thousand years ago. In a way, this Chinese novel, generally believed to have been compiled in the Ming Dynasty from ancient legends, is like Homer's *Iliad*, with two groups of militant gods and goddesses taking sides with the earthly warriors in a sanguinary war that paved the way for the foundation of the Chow Dynasty. In the numerous battles between these two camps of immortal beings the most fantastic weapons are described. And some of these, the products of the lively imagination of an author of several centuries ago, have been brought to

realization by ingenious modern inventors and thrown into the current warfare that has swept across Europe. One might even wonder whether these inventors and the students of modern military strategy may not have obtained some of their inspiration from our Chinese novel.

In its essence the plot of the novel is close to the facts recorded in history. It opens with a long and sometimes gruesome narrative telling of the cruelty and mis-government of the Emperor Shou (紂) of the Shang (商) Dynasty, who is instigated to many of his misdeeds by his beautiful but venomous Imperial concubine. The events culminate in a revolution headed by the feudal Lord of Chow (周). In his Government is an aged Premier who happens to be the disciple of Yuen Sze Tien Tseng (元始天尊), head of one of three groups of immortals. This group of immortals is allied with another, headed by Tai Shang Lau Chung (太上老君). The third group, comprising the warlike immortals who through prolonged worship rose to immortality from the ranks of lowly animals joins the side of the Emperor Shou.

Long before the revolutionary armies start their march for the capital of Shan, the Emperor Shou has ordered no less than sixteen punitive expeditions, each under the command of a

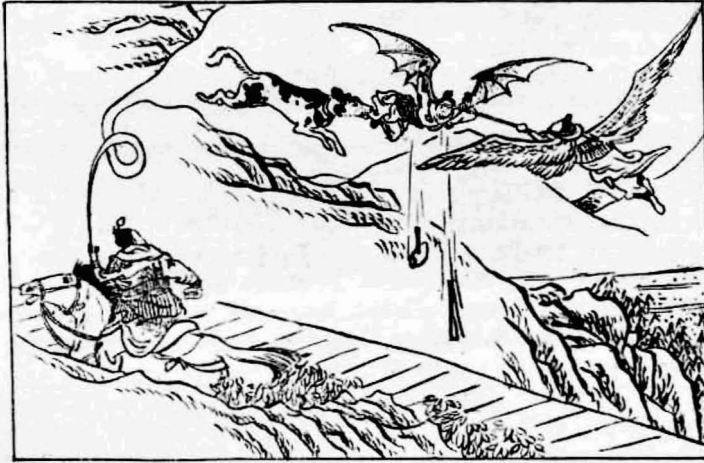
disciple of the third group of immortals and each aided by one or more of the minor members of a superhuman clique. These expeditions defeated, the revolutionary armies begin their long march, facing one seemingly insurmountable obstacle after another, and finally succeed in surrounding the Shang capital. The Emperor Shou commits suicide after the disgraceful defeat, and the feudal Lord of Chow is installed as the ruler of a new dynasty which was to reign over China for some nine hundred years (1134-247 B.C.)

In the heat of these battles, the author introduces many superhuman

using a brass club as a weapon of deadly effectiveness.

Joining his brother's army, he scores many victories by flying into the battlefield, circling over the enemies at a great height, diving down on a marked enemy warrior and putting the unfortunate one to death with his club. At one time he is assigned to fight a rear-guard action, and he scares the daylight out of the pursuing army by zooming to a great altitude and crushing the peak of a mountain to bits by a single blow of his club.

In the opposing army there is a similar freak warrior. How he earned his



Lai Tseng Tse engages his winged enemy in a "dog-fight."  
The dog has been released by the warrior on horse-back to aid our hero by biting his opponent

characters, each the owner of a secret weapon. What may well be compared to military planes in modern warfare are two prominent figures. One is Lai Tseng Tse (雷震子), a brother of the Lord of Chow. Born an ordinary mortal, he is said to have been adopted by an immortal, who fed him two ripe red apricots. While the boy was enjoying the fruits, he suddenly felt two flapping wings growing out of his armpits. His handsome features also changed into those of a bird, with a conspicuous bill-like mouth and a hooked nose. He could now fly. His immortal teacher taught him military tactics and also the secret method of

wings is not told: apparently the author had to produce a rival for Lai Tseng Tse in haste and neglected a biographical note. This warrior, however, could not fly with the same speed and at the same altitude as his counterpart. In a "dog fight" the two winged warriors engage in a terrific battle resulting in the death of the slower airman, just as in modern war an obsolete plane would be defeated if pitched against a 1941 model.

In fact, the two are not the only "airmen" in this mythological warfare. The "air force" of both armies is formidable. They are not winged superhuman beings but immortals and near-

immortals who, apart from their particular secret weapons, are capable of travel at a high speed on the clouds above or below the stratospheric zone.

In this way, each of them is a parachutist who may drop behind the enemy lines and engage in destructive activities. However, the author did not visualize the effectiveness of parachutists in the same way as modern chiefs of staffs do. He merely put them into use for making quiet raids into enemy encampments to release and retrieve the more important warriors taken prisoner by the enemy.

to death. Modern air-marshals would certainly wish to be the first to lay their hands on such "pebbles," in order to drop them on enemy production centers instead of raining high explosives and incendiary bombs. And that immortal fighter appears to have had an inexhaustible supply of such pebbles.

Most of the secret weapons described, however, are not designed for mass slaughter but for individual foes. Among these are: scissors which, when released, cut the enemy in two and return harmlessly into the owner's roomy sleeves; a flock of crows with steel bills



Lai Tseng Tse dive-bombs an enemy commander

Many battles are fought in the air. As these "cloud-riders" (騰雲駕霧) have a huge flying radius, a single air duel is often fought over thousands of miles with every foot of the distance featured by thrilling exchanges. Compared with modern "dog fights," these imaginary aerial combats are just as colorful and hair-raising. Instead of rapid-fire machine-guns and devastating cannons, these human fighting planes employ their secret weapons and even swords in their duels. Little emphasis is placed on their comparative swordsmanship: the spotlight is turned on their secret weapons. One of them often uses small pebbles which are actually the "essence" of huge mountains. The slightest contact with one such seemingly harmless pebble would instantly crush the victim

which are driven into the battle-field to gouge out the eyes of the enemy; and numerous swords which are thrown into the air to kill enemies miles away and which return boomerang-like to their owners.

Gas warfare, though mere child's play when compared with that of the last European war, is vividly described in the Chinese Iliad. As in the case of winged warriors, both the Government and revolutionary armies boast of a gas expert. They are not chemists, but gifted instead with a superhuman ability to force poisonous gas from their bodies, one through his nostrils and the other through his mouth.

Each of these warriors has a trained corps closely following him whenever he appears on the battle-ground. These



soldiers are trained to tie up the fallen foes. In the heat of the duel, the warrior exhales the gas and puts his enemy painlessly to sleep to wake up twelve hours later in a prison camp! On one occasion, ironically enough, the two warriors meet in battle, and each is rendered unconscious by the other. Their trained followers rush up and retrieve their commanders. Neither the warriors nor their followers had gas-masks, but the latter did not need them since the gas was directed at one person at a time.

Even bacteriological warfare, so far not put to practical use in current wars, is not beyond the author's imagination. In fact, Chinese legends attribute to that mythological war two of the most deadly epidemics—small-pox and plague. It is said today that, just because these ancient warriors waged this grim bacteriological warfare, the world has now to use serums and other remedies to combat these diseases.

In one of the battles, while the two armies are deadlocked, a member of the wicked clique of immortals descends from nowhere to claim that he can wipe out the entire enemy force in the twinkling of an eye. All he has to do, he tells the down-hearted commander, is to fly over the enemy camps under cover of darkness and drop several bushels of colored beans. He assures the commander that within seven days the enemy force will be wiped out by a strange disease.

Accordingly that night he summons the clouds to convey himself and the bushels of colored beans. Taking off for the night raid without even consulting the weather reports, he is presently circling over the enemy position. He sprinkles the bushels of disease-carrying beans all over their camp; then quietly withdraws and returns to his base.

Next morning only a handful of soldiers in the Chow camp is able to get up. All the others find themselves suffering from an unknown ailment baffling even the army surgeons, who

are themselves down with the same disease. In the entire force only one man is immune, and he is a disciple of one of the gods. He immediately flies away on the clouds to consult with his teacher, and is told to go and see the Emperor Sheng Nong (神農), a prehistoric ruler who is reputed to be the inventor of Chinese herb-medicine. From this great Father of Chinese Medicine he learns that the unknown



Bacteriological experts scattering beans carrying small-pox over the enemy camp

ailment is small-pox and obtains from him a kind of herb, said to be the best cure.

Recovering immediately through this treatment, the Chow army surprises the enemy and scores a complete victory. However, small-pox prevailed in the world as one of the most deadly diseases until western scientists invented vaccination.

This is not the only bacteriological attack described. In another battle, soldiers of the Chow army are ad-

ministered a similar blow when another member of the devilish immortals showers them with "invisible substances" causing a plague. Before the army is reduced to a mere battalion, however, the Father of Chinese Medicine once again comes to the rescue. The plague is checked, but not exterminated, so that today it still breaks out occasionally.

It was in this battle that the idea of a flame-throwing machine, which caused a sensation in modern war, was first mentioned. To defeat the wicked immortal who staged the bacteriological attack, one of the righteous gods

written some three hundred years ago and describing events of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279), a fleet of a thousand tanks and a lone submarine are mentioned in the punitive expedition launched by Government forces against the one hundred and eight bandits of Liangshan.

These "tanks" were, of course, neither steel-plated nor equipped with machine-guns or cannons. How they were propelled the author does not reveal. They are merely described as "wagons covered with leather and padded with hair" to resist the arrows and stones rained against their advance



A gas specialist breathing poisonously on an enemy and rendering him senseless

on the side of the Chow army sends a disciple down to earth, armed only with a fan. This fan, however, produces flames, and with it he fans the wicked immortal till he is reduced to ashes.

In *The Appointment of the Gods*, rich in its description of modern weapons in what may be called their embryo stages, there is a conspicuous absence of the tanks and submarines which figure so prominently in modern wars. What is missing from this tale, may be found in a sequel to the Chinese novel translated into English by Pearl Buck under the title of *All Men Are Brothers*. In this book,

by the enemy. They were also said to be able to span trenches, and their only obstacles were forests and creeks. They were not called tanks, but "thundering wagons," alluding to the great noise made while rumbling over the battle-field. From slits in these padded vehicles several soldiers were kept busy firing off arrows with deadly accuracy and great speed.

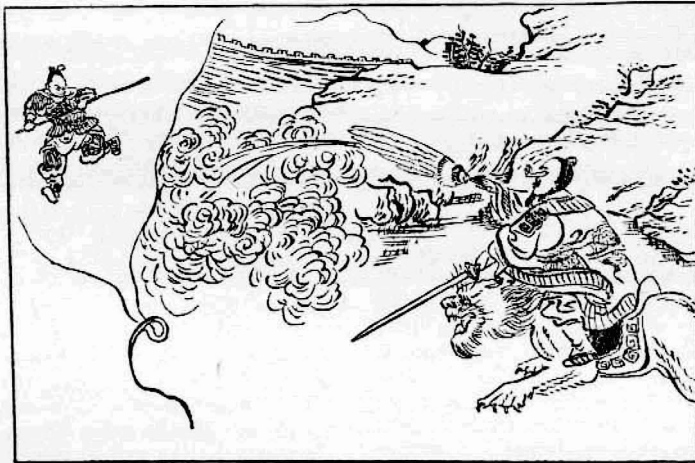
These "thundering wagons" helped the bandits to win several overwhelming victories but met their doom when the adviser of the Government forces perfected what are today called "tank traps." In one single combat the entire fleet was trapped and destroyed!

The description of the imaginary submarine is more vague. It is merely said to be an ordinary boat covered with boards and sealed with indigo. How it was operated is not mentioned. However, it was successfully used to smuggle troops under water to a strategic spot behind the enemy lines.

Modern weapons, though already much more fantastic and formidable than those of previous decades, are still far behind the imaginary equipment of the mythological warriors of *The Appointment of the Gods*. Resourceful as they are today, modern inventors have so far failed to equal such imagi-

Above all, if modern wars were fought along the lines of that mythological conflict, campaigns could be launched and pressed forward at much lower cost. Unlike bombs, torpedoes, and shells which, once fired, are spent, most of the secret weapons described in *The Appointment of the Gods* are boomerang-like, returning to their respective owners after having made the "kill."

The imaginary flame-thrower, for instance, requires no detailed planning regarding the supply of fuel or the training of special crews in asbestos



Warrior using fan as flame-thrower

nary weapons as a four-stringed lute which, when played on the battlefield, will produce a "pea-soup" fog through which only the player and his followers, specially treated with a secret eye-drop, can discern the position of the enemy. The enemy warriors are practically blinded and often caught unawares when the deadly swords or spears pierce their bodies.

Or, how useful would be a yellow flag which produces invisible rays that will ward off practically all kinds of weapons when unfurled over the bearer. This flag belongs to the commander-in-chief of the Chow army, who is therefore immune from the dangers confronting other combatants.

suits to handle the elaborate equipment. The weapon that emits the devastating fire with ease in our mythological war is nothing but a fan made of quills. In appearance it is similar to those still used today by more conservative Chinese gentlemen, who dislike folding fans because they were not originally developed in this country.

The supply of defense materials would no longer be a pressing question to the governments of warring nations, and modern wars would be fought with still swifter decision if all the imaginary weapons described in *The Appointment of the Gods* were brought into realization by the inventive scientists of the twentieth century.



## REVIEWS

### BOOK

Hawaii: Restless Rampart, by Joseph Barber, Jr. (Indianapolis—New York, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941, 285 pp. \$2.75.)

Zarozhdenye i Razvitye Tikookeanskogo Uzla Protivovetchii (The Origin and Development of the Knot of Controversies in the Pacific Area), by V. Motylev. (Moscow, Sotskkgiz, 144 pp., rubles 1.65.)

Chinas Erneuerung. Der Raum als Waffe (China's Rebirth. Space as a Weapon), by Dr. Lily Abegg, Frankfurt, Sozietacts-Verlag, 1940, 483 pp., Reichsmark 7.50.)

The Nine Magazines of Kodansha. The autobiography of a Japanese publisher, by Seiji Noma, (London, Methuen & Co., Ltd. 290 pp.)

\* \* \*

The four books reviewed are all closely linked to articles in this issue. However, Mr. Barber wrote his account of Hawaii in a vein quite different from that of our leading article. He is not a European who enjoyed the peace of Hawaii, but an American journalist who came to Hawaii to write at first articles for *Atlantic Monthly*, later a book. His penetrating and very critical study caused something of a sensation in Hawaii. At times it is rather personal, yet essentially it is based on facts commonly known in the islands. Omitting any praise of the charms of Hawaii, Mr. Barber, after a brief historical introduction, turns the spotlight of his investigation on what he calls the "triangle of forces"—Big Five, Japanese, army and navy. Most of his criticism is reserved for the Big Five, the powerful and closely interrelated corporations which direct the economic life of the islands. In sharp and often ironical words he describes the curious semi-monopolistic policies of the Big Five, their hold on Hawaii, their influence in Washington through "lobbying by remote control," their struggle for statehood ("Forty-Ninth State") and in a particularly sarcastic chapter ("Propaganda, Hawaiian Style") their efforts "to sell Hawaii to the mainland and island monopoly to Hawaii." At the same he pays tribute to their farsightedness and interest in the welfare of their laborers. ("Physically some of the communities have taken on the appearance of model villages, the equal of any on the mainland . . . Plantation employees were

generally better off than any of their mainland fellows in industry and agriculture, for they were assured through the depression years of free, modern housing, fuel, medical care and hospitalization . . . During 1934-1937, their average daily earnings increased twenty-seven per cent. This rise brought their average cash wage in 1938 to \$2.13 per day—the highest annual average in American agriculture." p. 74.)

Mr. Barber justly appreciates the inner conflicts in the hearts of the islands' Japanese between their racial and their political allegiances, and he realizes that much of the responsibility for existing antagonism lies with the white Americans. The two chapters on army and navy—together almost one-third of the book—can count on special interest in our war-minded days. To most readers the extent of military preparations in the Pacific Paradise will come as a surprise. The figures quoted are staggering, from the total military investment of almost a billion dollars down to the 2,000 turkeys which the army in Hawaii eats on Thanksgiving Day. The significance of Pearl Harbor as a naval base is shown and the army's task concisely summarized in the words: "We intend to make the price of taking Pearl Harbor so prohibitively high that no enemy would want to pay it." (p. 195.) He mentions the growing inroads of the armed forces into the life of the people: "Great chunks of land and valuable shore front . . . have lately been taken over by the services for military purposes and the end is not in sight." (p. 251.) This book will do much towards the destruction of Hawaii's romantic halo, but in this it is unfortunately in tune with the times.

\* \* \*

In the dictatorial Soviet State everything can be taken to indicate the general situation of the country, even a historical treatise. Mr. Motylev's book is a disappointment to the reader expecting something startlingly new in this first Soviet book on the recent history of the Pacific area. It is on the whole a conventional account of Far Eastern history from the opening-up of Japan to the present war. Of course the terminology is slightly changed (off-hand one might not recognize the "War of the Eleven Powers against the Chinese People" as the Boxer Rebellion, p. 3) and there are the customary frequent quotations from Marx, Lenin, and Stalin; also the

Marxist over-emphasis on economic factors. But no new material is presented, although the Russian archives hold stacks of hitherto unused documents on Russo-Far Eastern affairs. In one of the few instances where Motylev offers a slightly newer interpretation (on the subject of Japan's attitude towards Korea in the seventies and eighties, pp. 14-16) he bases his views on a book published in 1900. It appears that even in the writing of history the Bolsheviks are becoming increasingly conventional.

\* \* \*

The many books written on the Sino-Japanese conflict would fill a large shelf; yet few can rival "China's Rebirth" by Dr. Lily Abegg (the author of our "Thailand—Old and New") in wealth of information and calm objectivity. It is to be regretted that the book has not been translated into English, for it is written by a person who combines a thorough knowledge of the Far East with independent and clear reasoning. Although written by a woman, it does not betray any emotion save that of profound sympathy for the rebirth of a new China that is taking place on the battle-fields of the present war. In contrast to the vast majority of western books on the Sino-Japanese conflict which present only one—and usually the Chinese—side, Miss Abegg has an extraordinary understanding for both, and her book is one of the few that have been appreciated by Chinese as well as by Japanese. Dividing her book into four parts (The War Enforces Progress, Western China and the War, Eastern China and the War, China's Future), the author places her chief emphasis on the second and gives its 250 pages to the description and analysis of Chiang Kai-shek's struggle for China's rebirth and freedom. The third part, on Eastern China, deals with the various peace movements, particularly in Peking and of Wang Ching-wei. The sub-title, Space as a Weapon, indicates where the author sees Japan's greatest difficulty: in the enormous space of China, densely populated with a hostile population which completely engulfs the Japanese forces. The book is well illustrated and has an excellent cover design which strikingly matches the title: the face of a young steel-helmeted Chinese soldier, boyish, not yet fully awake, yet defiant. "China's Rebirth" is not easy reading; but it repays the effort, for it is packed with facts and thought.

\* \* \*

Mr. Noma's autobiography should be collateral reading to Mr. Takahashi's article on Japanese magazines. While the article speaks of the magazines of today, the book describes their history. It is true, Mr. Noma only deals with the history of his own magazines. But we learn from Mr. Takahashi that they

make up 75% of the total circulation of Japanese magazines.

Mr. Noma, who died recently at the age of sixty, was born at the beginning of the Meiji Era, which brought such enormous changes to Japan. Through both his parents he was the descendant of Samurai families, victims of the abolition of the feudal order. His father, to combine the noble traditions of his ancestors with the sad necessity of making a living, set up as a traveling fencing instructor. As a boy, young Noma fled from the poverty of his home into the delights of imagination and in one year read the one hundred and six volumes of the "Romance of the Eight Dog-Heroes," thereby obtaining his lasting interest in good stories. He earned his first money—one and one half dollars per month—as an assistant village teacher. For a number of years he remained in the teaching profession, spending a delightful time in that sunny possession of Japan, the Ryukyu Islands, which he describes as a "paradise for male debauchees." When he received an administrative position in the Imperial University of Tokyo, he was seized by the general craze for speech-making prevalent among Japanese students at that time and conceived the idea of publishing a monthly magazine, embodying the speeches of University professors and students. After many vain attempts he found a publisher for his first magazine, *Yuben* (Eloquence) which is still in existence. The hunger for serious magazines was already so strong in Japan that he sold 14,000 copies of his first issue.

His most successful brain-child was the magazine *Kodan Club* with which he returned to the interests of his early youth. "Kodans" are the popular historical romances recited by professional story-tellers. These were now put into print for the first time. At first he had no success. His losses were much greater than the profits brought in by *Yuben*. He was on the verge of bankruptcy, and a quarrel with the *Kodan* story-tellers led to their strike. How he extricated himself from this awkward situation, at the same time creating a new literary style, should be read in his own words.

Other magazines followed in quick succession. Noma's technique in the preparing and launching of new magazines improved with each new effort, and he took it for granted that, for the large-scale success of a magazine, losses must be expected during the first one to three years. He developed new methods of advertising and distribution. He carried on even under the conditions of the 1923 earthquake, and eventually entered the fields of book-publishing and the newspaper. At the time of his death Noma was the undisputed king of the Japanese magazine world.

## MAGAZINES

*During the past decades magazines have attained an ever-increasing importance in the field of public opinion, which they both shape and reflect. In the following pages we present reviews of articles from two groups of periodicals. The first are English language magazines published in the Far East or dealing with its problems, the second are magazines in Japanese language. Instead of giving tables of contents or reprinting excerpts we have decided to review individual articles. The articles reviewed are, of course, only a fraction of those published. They are selected with a view to their importance or significance.—K.M.*

### FAR EASTERN MAGAZINES IN ENGLISH

#### India

It is to be expected that articles dealing with present political affairs bring the problems of the Far East into the limelight of controversy. The China-Japan conflict, of course, plays its role in sending its ever-increasing rays to the south. And it is deserving of notice that quite a number of writers are scrutinizing reactions in India.

*Pacific Affairs*, the anti-Axis quarterly of the Institute of Pacific Relations edited by Mr. Owen Lattimore, contains in its last issue an article *India in a Changing Asia* by Krishnalal Shridharani, written in New York. After a lengthy examination of nationalistic currents in India, and avoiding taking a stand on the all-important Indo-British issue, Shridharani comes to the conclusion that the Sino-Japanese conflict provoked anti-Japanese feeling in India and led to a Chinese orientation of Indian nationalism. Ever since 1904, he writes, Indian Nationalists have felt that Japan alone could challenge the West. The most reassuring factor in the eyes of India's political realists, however, was the conception of an Asiatic island empire pitted against a European island empire. To them Japan is the natural enemy of Great Britain. Sooner or later there was bound to be a clash between the two island empires, and India would benefit by the upheaval. Asiatic countries were to co-operate under the guidance of Nippon. Japan's "Asia for the Asiatics" also appealed to India for a time; but now, as events in the Sino-Japanese conflict prove, the Japanese doctrine is "Asia for the Japanese." Coupled with Japan's march into the Asiatic mainland, it brought Japanese aggression almost to India's eastern door. Hence an anti-Japanese feeling began and crystallized into action. On the other hand, British Pacific policy aims at the preservation of the *status quo* in the Far East. A strong and independent China, Britain seems to

realize, would be a factor in speeding up the evolution of a strong and independent India. Indian leaders got in touch with General Chiang Kai-shek with a view to Indo-Chinese collaboration. The possibility of half the world's population collaborating under the leadership of China and India to preserve the peace in the Pacific area is to the author one of the most promising prospects of permanent peace, not only in the Far East but also in the whole of Asia.

An opposite point of view is stressed by several Indian writers in the periodical *Asiatic Asia*. This is the organ of the Pan-Asiatic Association in Shanghai, which looks toward a solution of the Asia problem under the leadership of Japan. Under the title *India Fights for Freedom*, Mr. A. M. Sahay stresses the fact that, since the war in Europe, India has received renewed attention by the world powers as an important factor in international politics, since her attitude towards the war is bound to be of significance. Mr. Sahay complains that India is misrepresented and the world misled by British propaganda. He wonders why, despite overwhelming proof to the contrary, the world does not reject the wholly untruthful and insincere claims of Britain that she is fighting the present war for freedom from aggression. India's war against tyranny and exploitation began in 1857 and has at present reached the point where she sees an opportunity of achieving her final goal—complete freedom.

In the same periodical Mr. D. S. Deshpande writes on *India and the Russo-German War*. He describes the war as the furious battle of two giants. Although opinions vary as to the ultimate outcome, nobody, except perhaps the Kremlin authorities, seems to entertain the idea of a Russian victory. In a National-Socialistic victory over the old plutocratic as well as over the communist order, the writer sees aid for India's cause to achieve freedom from British domination.



To the voices of Indian writers about Indian affairs we may add a critical observation by an American, Mr. Eric Estorick, at present instructor in sociology at New York University and during 1938 and 1939 correspondent of the *London Tribune*. His article appeared in the illustrated monthly *Asia* and is called *Britain's Blind Spot*. As proof of Great Britain's unwillingness to meet India's demands even half-way he cites Prime Minister Churchill's statements and says: "It didn't matter, then, that despite Churchill's willingness to go a long way in domestic reform, his record on India was as reactionary as any Old Guard imperialist's could possibly be. It is, however, a matter of great importance at the moment when England fights to expunge Fascism from the earth, that her colonies should begin to share in the democracy which the mother country professedly fights to preserve, and that these democratic privileges should be extended to the masses of the colonies as the situation warrants. The evidence to be found from the speeches of Prime-Minister Churchill leads us to believe, unfortunately, that he considers the very thought of democracy for India anachronistic. Speaking through the years, Churchill has said the following: 'Sooner or later you will have to crush Gandhi and the Indian Congress and all they stand for.' (January, 1930.) 'The British nation has no intention whatever of relinquishing effectual control of Indian life and progress. We have no intention of casting away that most truly bright and precious jewel in the Crown of the King, which, more than all our other Dominions and Dependencies, constitutes the glory and strength of the British Empire.' (December, 1930.)"

#### *Japan and China*

The fourth anniversary, July 7, 1941, of the Sino-Japanese conflict is dealt with by Mr. H. G. W. Woodhead, British editor of *Oriental Affairs* (Shanghai), in an article *Four Years of Sino-Japanese Hostilities*. Woodhead draws a gloomy picture of Japan's position in China. Says he: "The stiffening of Anglo-American policy towards Japanese aggression, and the pledge of increased assistance to the only Chinese Government recognised by Britain and America, has exasperated Japan, but encouraged the spirit of resistance at Chungking. If China's loss of territory and wastage of man-power continue at the same rate as during the fourth year of hostilities there appears to be no reason why she should not be able to resist for another ten or even fifteen years....The problem of ending Sino-Japanese hostilities today appears insoluble."

In the Japanese inspired *Far Eastern Review*, Mr. Ipei Fukuda, criticizing the present Japanese policy, views the situation on the fourth anniversary of the Sino-Japanese conflict in his *Whither the China War?* He

writes: "Now that the futility of drawing Chungking into a roundtable conference to discuss peace is brought home to the Japanese Government, the only course left open for it is to stage an armed sit-down strike against...General Chiang Kai Chek....So far the usefulness of Mr. Wang Ching-wei's Government at Nanking in bringing about peace has been practically nil...The Ambassador (Mr. Honda) pointed out that Japan would never be so faithless as to abandon the Nanking regime and enter into direct peace negotiations with Chungking, the time for which, in his opinion, had definitely passed." Mr. Fukuda states that the four years fighting have cost Japan 109,250 men killed, including the Changkufeng and Nomonhan incidents with the Soviets in 1938-39.

Leaving the subject of the war, we turn to a historical study, *Cultural Relations between Japan and China*, written by the Japanese Board of Information and published in the *Tokyo Gazette*. As early as 285 A.D. Chinese culture began to influence Japanese life. When in 1636 the Tokugawa Shogunate closed the country to foreign intercourse, Japanese were prohibited from crossing over to China. But some political refugees from China came from time to time to Japan, the most notable of them being the famous Chu Shun-shuei, a learned Confucian scholar. The first official contact was re-established after two hundred and twenty-three years of seclusion, when in 1862 the *Titose Maru* made her first voyage to Shanghai.

In *Contemporary Japan*, Mr. Shinnosuke Abe, long connected with the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun* as chief editor, director, and now as adviser, draws a vivid picture of Japan's new Foreign Minister, Admiral Teijiro Toyoda. Mr. Abe's reflections follow: "There is no manner of doubt that Prince Konoye has chosen Admiral Toyoda as Foreign Minister, actuated by the desire to preclude any possibility of friction between Japan's foreign and military policies....Of the outstanding diplomatic questions, the future relations between Japan and the United States command public attention, first and foremost....Japan and the United States will gain much by adjusting and ameliorating their relations, but lose everything by going to war with each other....Under such a delicate situation the writer discerns something more than a mere coincidence in the selection of Kichisaburo Nomura as Japan's Ambassador to Washington and Teijiro Toyoda as new Foreign Minister, both full Admirals, hailing from the same Province of Kii. Most people hailing from Kii Province are mettlesome with a savour of prejudice which characteristics are at once their strong and weak points. Admiral Nomura is an exception to Kii people, because he is possessed of a generous and amiable personality.

Common with the Kii folks, Admiral Toyoda has the mettle in him, but he is free from prejudice and broadminded enough to listen to other's advice."

The *Oriental Economist* (Tokyo), of which Mr. Tanzan Ishibashi is both president and editor, contains a survey of the *North China Development Company*. This is a Japanese Government enterprise, created by special authority of the Japanese Diet and founded in November 1938. Its aim is, with Chinese co-operation, to exploit the transportation and communication as well as mining, electricity, and other industrial enterprises in North China. The journal remarks: "The immediate problem confronting the company is the acquisition of capital within North China. The policy of raising funds jointly by Japan and China has been adopted but the co-operation from China in the existing enterprises has only been extended by Government. To effect real Sino-Japanese co-operation, popular support of Chinese capital is necessary. . . . The associations have not yet been organized into companies. Their operation is under military control for the time being as a transitional measure."

In *Japan and Vladivostok* in his *Oriental Affairs*, Mr. Woodhead discusses the problem of this important port as a place of transit for war materials to the USSR. In claiming that Japan has no right to obstruct such shipments he cites the Portsmouth Treaty of 1905, reaffirmed at Peking in 1925, according to which Japan guaranteed not to impede the free navigation through the Strait of La Perouse (between the islands of Hokkaido and Sakhalin) and Tartary Strait (between Sakhalin and the mainland).

#### *The Eight Points*

The *China Weekly Review*, registered as an American paper but known to be an organ of the Chungking Government, analyses in critical vein in its issue of August 23 the Eight Points of the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic declaration. To the British-American promise not to seek any territorial or other aggrandizement, the article says: "Neither Britain nor France fought for new territory

in World War I. Yet Britain acquired more than a million square miles of additional territory as a result of the Versailles Treaty. France also added something to her Empire." The article is skeptical as to the free access to raw materials promised in Point 4, saying: "Such access will be allowed only with 'due respect' for the 'existing obligations' of the British Empire and the United States. The word 'interests' would have been more appropriate than 'obligations.' After the victorious powers have satisfied their own needs the other fellows will have their chance." As to the point dealing with disarmament, the article states: "It is noteworthy that the Eighth Point of the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration provides for the disarmament of the vanquished but not of the victors. This is quite a contrast with the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, wherein the victorious Allies provided for the disarming of Germany but also promised to disarm themselves." The severest criticism is reserved for the slogan of self-government in Point 3: "Why cannot the principle be put into practice now—say, in India? The 350,000,000 people of India are forcibly deprived of their sovereign rights and, far from having chosen the form of government under which they are presently obliged to live, are vigorously opposed to it. The British are in India by right of conquest? The Japanese are in Manchuria and China and French Indo-China, not to speak of Korea and Formosa by exactly the same right. And the Germans are in Scandinavia, the Low Countries, France, eastern Europe and the Balkans with similar justification, if justification it can be called.

"What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. If the principle of self-determination is good at all, it is good for universal application. The enslavement of hundreds of millions of people in British colonies and possessions squares ill with a declaration of respect for the principle of self-government. It is this which has made many Americans extremely skeptical of the genuineness of British war aims. It is this which constitutes one of the most powerful weapons in the arsenal of the Nazi propagandists."—H.F.

## JAPANESE MAGAZINES

As has been pointed out elsewhere in this issue, practically all Japanese magazines are in line with the present ideology of Japan. Hence most of the important articles represent more or less the attitude of the Japanese Government. We believe it is interesting to know what the Japanese public reads in its influential magazines.

#### *The German-Soviet War and Japan*

The German-Soviet war and its significance for Japan occupied much space among recent

articles published in Japanese magazines. A detailed article was published on the Soviet Union and another on Germany. Mr. T. Shigemori writes about the USSR in *Soviet Russia of Today* in a very critical vein in the magazine *Gendai*. From October 1940 until June of this year he stayed in Russia as private secretary to the Japanese Ambassador, and he is at present considered one of the best Japanese experts on Russia. He has a favorable opinion only of the great technical development of Russia and her strong national unity. His remark is interest-

ing that in the Russia of Stalin there is hardly anything more to be seen of the principles of Marxism. In Soviet Russia there is a stronger tendency toward "bourgeois" standards of life than in any other country. The peasants are least sympathetic toward Bolshevism. They have, for instance, to hand over their eggs to the State at 20 kopecks each, and then to buy them back at 80 kopecks. In the cities one sees richly uniformed officers of the Red Army side by side with miserably dressed laborers. There are special cheap shopping facilities for "privileged classes," i.e. certain categories of workers, members of the OGPU, etc. Working hours have been increased by one hour since June 26, 1940; it is forbidden to change one's place of work; and being late three times is punished with deportation and forced labor. Officials with an income of 20,000 rubles live in four-room apartments and lately can even afford a car, while a large part of the population has to go without shoes and stockings. Mr. Shigemori thinks, however, that Stalin saw in this deviation from the principles of Lenin his only means to achieve the urgently needed increase in industrial production. Mr. Shigemori thinks that the war did not come unexpectedly to Russia, although she tried to avoid it as long as possible. He mentions a sharp speech against Germany made by Stalin on May 6 on the occasion of the graduation ceremonies of the Red Academy of War. When Minister of War Timoshenko, following the speech, called for a toast to the "peace-policy" of Stalin, the latter is supposed to have corrected him with the words: "To the war-policy of Stalin."

The article on Germany, *My Visit to the Axis Powers*, is written by Lieutenant-General Yamashita in the magazine *Kaizo*. He had spent some time in Germany and Italy as leader of a Japanese military delegation and had left Berlin just a few days before the outbreak of the German-Soviet war. He was impressed by the personality of the Fuehrer and his understanding of Japan. He admires the attitude of the German soldiers in the occupied territories, whose behavior is not that of conquerors, and who let it be seen that this war does not mean a revenge for the defeat of 1918 but rather something far higher. Lieut.-General Yamashita calls the actions of Hitler and his soldiers the birth of a new spirit. He is equally enthusiastic about the German economic system and its achievements, and the whole-hearted co-operation of the entire German people. He closes with the remark that since the Great War he has visited Germany every ten years or so and distinctly felt the growth of the nation's strength. He had always been of the opinion that a people like the Germans would never perish. The author has recently been appointed to the Supreme War Council.

Interesting opinions on developments in Europe in relation to the present war are voiced in an article by Mr. Y. Kuboi, *The Future of the New European Order* in *Genchi Hokoku*. Mr. Kuboi is a very well-known member of the Japanese Parliament. Together with the former Foreign Minister Matsuoka he visited Germany and has only recently returned from Europe. He was surprised to hear from Prof. Schmitt of the Berlin University in the beginning of May that Russia could no longer be considered as a great political sphere in the planned new order of the world because she lacked the necessary qualities of leadership. Kuboi believes that Russia did not want the war to come so soon, because she wished the capitalistic states first to exhaust one another before hitting out herself. A possible Bolshevik Government beyond the Urals would be of no importance if only because it would have scarcely forty million people behind it. The plan for a new order in Europe has undergone a great change through the German-Soviet war. The leading country is the Reich. It will undertake the responsibility for the defense, the foreign policy, and the economics of the other countries included in the order. In the Greater East Asiatic sphere Japan will assume a corresponding role. War as between the former states will end with the present war. Warlike actions between the great spheres of influence will be made practically impossible by the tremendous distances, for the American and the Euro-African spheres are separated by the Atlantic, and the American and the Greater Asiatic spheres by the Pacific.

#### *Japan and her Southern Problem*

The magazine *Nippon Hyoron* contains an article on the influence of the German-Soviet war on the southward expansion of Japan, *The New International Situation and the Southern Problem* by the well-known writer Mr. T. Taira. He reviews the Japanese southern problem from its beginnings in the Great War to the present shape given it by the defeats of Holland and France. Mr. Taira is of the opinion that the southern problem can only be solved in connection with the other problems of the world. The great importance of this problem for Japan lies above all in its close connection with the China conflict; for the South offers the absolutely necessary source of raw materials and the markets for the planned economic bloc Japan-China-Manchukuo. America has cut off Japan's supplies of raw materials and now wants to prevent her from obtaining raw materials in the southern Pacific, so that Japan must take measures to help herself. Japan must also begin to think of obtaining a firm economic position in the southern Pacific in order to meet the sharp competition to



be expected after the war from American industry, at present being built up so tremendously for the purpose of armaments. Considering the southern problem as a question of life and death, Mr. Taira closes with the observation that Japanese policy has hitherto always swung between the northern and the southern problems. Today, however, it should be directed not only towards the north and south but also towards the east and west.

Thailand is a sub-division of Japan's southern problem. It is discussed in *Koron* by Mr. Y. Miyabara's *Modern Thailand*. Thailand, he writes, is the only independent state in the southern part of the Far East and belongs to the Greater East Asiatic sphere. The rice crops of Thailand are of greatest importance to the future economic bloc Japan-China-Manchukuo. Thailand possesses many other raw materials indispensable to this economic bloc, as for instance rubber, tin, teakwood, etc. There are also possibilities for the growing of cotton, etc. Hence Japan must promote the development of Thailand. Thai economics are entirely in the hands of foreigners, members of the white race as well as Chinese and Annamites. Taking taxes as an example, Miyabara demonstrates the negligible Thai capital. The greater part of the national income goes abroad, a circumstance disadvantageous to cultural and economic progress. The revolution of 1932, which was to effect changes in this situation, so far has not shown the desired results. There is also a deep-rooted suspicion of Japan. Japanese culture is hardly known in Thailand, while other nations have already gained a firm footing through the founding of missions and the establishment of schools, hospitals, etc. Since the revolution and the current economic and political reform Thailand has been looking to Japan, which went through a similar development and now has much to offer to Thailand especially in the scientific and technical spheres. Japanese cultural propaganda should bear in mind that 95% of the Thai are Buddhists, for this is probably one of the most important points of contact with Buddhist Japan. The author is a member of the Bureau for Economic Research of the South Manchurian Railway.

#### *Japan's Leaders*

Two interesting articles are devoted to men at the helm of Japan's ship of state. The first one is by Mr. K. Sumimoto, *The Tasks Facing the Third Konoye Cabinet*, in *Jikyoku Joho*. He observes that the foreign policy fixed in a meeting of the Imperial Council would, of course, remain the same in spite of a change in ministers. In the present situation the opinion of the navy plays

an important role, and it is taken into account by giving the post of Foreign Minister to Admiral Toyoda. The ideological leadership of Hiranuma in the new cabinet has been greatly strengthened by his appointment as Minister without portfolio. The inclusion of seven members of the armed forces and not a single member of the former political parties is significant for the new "war cabinet." The policy of the new Government remains basically unchanged. Its main tasks are the creation of a highly armed military nation, the early settlement of the China conflict, the organization of a Greater East Asiatic sphere, and the preparation and execution of measures called for by the international situation. Important conditions for the solving of its tasks by the new Government are a stricter inner alignment toward war, especially in financial and economic circles, and a firm national unification of the people. The faster execution of the plans of the former and the present cabinet require the strengthening of the political power of the Government. Until now its task in many cases is confined to the simple ratification of the decisions of the different ministries.

The other article on Japanese statesmen, published in *Jenchi Hokoku*, deals with Admiral Toyoda, the Foreign Minister, and is written by Mr. J. Matsubara, *Foreign Minister Toyoda*. According to him, the powerful Japanese navy has in no way been weakened by the China conflict. It is therefore not without significance that at the present moment an Admiral has taken over the tiller of Japanese foreign policy, who was furthermore until recently Vice-Minister of the Navy. Prime Minister Konoye has learnt to appreciate the new Foreign Minister as a clear-thinking and prudent man, and last April had called him into his Government as Minister of Economics. Toyoda made the sacrifice of doffing his beloved uniform. He quickly got into his stride in his new office and worked with great success. His strong character was esteemed as well as his habit, in cases which did not seem quite clear to him, of at first observing carefully and then acting with determination, after having thoroughly studied the matter in question. He is attributed with a decisive influence in the reorganization of the Government. Mr. Matsubara ends his article with the observation that the Tripartite Pact continues to form the basis of Japanese foreign policy and that the latter has also not changed in relation to the solving of the China conflict. But he believes that the Pacific of today cannot be compared with the Pacific of former days, and that Japan's destiny, irrespective of the result of the German-Soviet war, lies in the Pacific, and that this would undoubtedly soon be proved by Toyoda's foreign policy.—S.M.

## TUNING-IN

Many years ago I read only one newspaper and was satisfied with myself and the world. It was a small-town paper and had very clear-cut human principles which fascinated me. The closed-in world of this newspaper was identical with my conception of the world. The paper gave me something to cling to; it gave me matter for thought as well as information; and its judgments were also mine. I knew the editor personally, and I read his weekly editorials regularly; I liked the clean, simple, and unshakeable convictions I found in them.

The news section, too, of this paper, seemed to me to be beyond doubt. If there was a report that a circus would be showing in the next town one could be sure that it would be there. Just as faithfully correct were the court-room reports. No one in the neighborhood had any doubt that a man branded by this paper as a swindler was a rogue.

Yet one day the ground fell away from under my feet. For Christmas an uncle of mine gave me a subscription to a newspaper with a nation wide circulation. The clear mirror of my gullibility broke, and with it the neatly rounded off world of my newspaper and of my imagination. The great world suddenly looked quite different.

I had been driven from Paradise, and ever since I have felt the heavy burden of the curse that had been placed upon me. I chased after versions, interpretations, and tendencies, in the hope of finding—perhaps on a more intellectual level—truth and peace of mind. Soon I was reading not only two papers, but ten, twelve, fifteen a day, and umpteen periodicals.

With every newspaper and periodical I added to my reading, I got further and further away from the truth and a well-balanced conception. The world was torn asunder, and an unholy confusion raged in me.

Finally things became altogether too topsyturvy and senseless for me, and I decided to turn my back on all newspapers. Since then I don't read any paper at all. Let everybody be happy in his own way.

For a while I was conscious of the relief afforded by the deep silence around me. No newspapers! And no reformers of world and men! But he who has once left Paradise can never regain it. This relief of deep silence was soon replaced by a consuming boredom and a torturing curiosity. Instead of silence there was emptiness, yawning emptiness, and

I realized that it was impossible to live one's life on a peaceful, isolated island.

In order not to return to newspapers as a source of news and information, I bought a radio. With this modern instrument I hoped to conjure up the voices of the world in my peaceful room. The fairy of distance was to bewitch the world into a magic lantern of my mind. I had great expectations of the spoken word, of the human voice, which surely must be different from printer's ink.

How wrong I was! I jumped out of the frying-pan into the fire. While in the case of newspapers, in spite of all the confusion, I had after all been dealing only with the papers of a single country, now the spoken views of the whole world came rushing at me from all sides. But I made up my mind to put up with it this time, so that I might not entirely desert this exciting world. I decided scientifically to investigate this radio propaganda. Although I did not believe that lies could be entirely banished from the world, I wanted at least to discover the limits to the possibility of deception, perhaps to stumble upon the truth of lies.

I know my radio set, and I know the wave-lengths of the important transmitters in the world. I have long overcome the so-called technical difficulties of tuning-in. Of course I cannot do anything about the inevitable atmospheric disturbances and I accept them philosophically as an act of Providence. What else could I do? But I am annoyed by the artificial, deliberate interference from the "other side." Every station has its enemy, just as every human being is envied and opposed.

The first thing I discovered was that every station has its personal note which, quite aside from the language, shows the mentality of the country to which the station belongs, together with all its worries, troubles, intentions, and joys. From an American station a different spirit fills the ether than, for example, from a German transmitter. And a Japanese station again is different from a Russian or Indian or Chinese one.

The range of radio propaganda is much wider than that of printer's ink. Just as every newspaper has its face, so has every radio-station too. Indeed, it has more: it has its own color and its own tone. It requires a fine and delicate sense to hear it properly. If, in the case of newspapers, one need only read between the lines to find the hidden meaning, in the case of radio . . . Here the difficulties

begin. The ether has no lines to read between. Radio demands far greater concentration and devotion by its readers—beg pardon, listeners.

A good announcer must be a good actor or speaker who, as an artist, really lives the material he has to deliver. Through the vivacity and realism of his voice and delivery he gives the impression of authenticity but carries away his listeners. Indeed, he often only makes the material interesting to his listeners through his voice. However clear and unequivocal the written text may be, a good announcer is capable of giving this text, through his voice, a completely different meaning, without changing a single word.

Every day I am kept busy by about ten stations, mostly during the evening and at night. There are some stations I feel an affection for, and their announcers have become my good friends. Among the stations some are interesting, some boring, some are harmless and some vicious, some are on their toes, and others always just miss the bus, some are accurate and some not so particular about the truth.

I recognize the different stations by the voices of their announcers, just as on the telephone one recognizes by the voice who is at the other end. I also know approximately the way the mind of each announcer works.

For example, there is the announcer of the London B.B.C. station: I have no idea what he really looks like, but I imagine him to be tall. He is a self-assured man, and very matter-of-fact. His voice is clear and distinct and betrays no trace of passion. He never stumbles. Coldly he tells sometimes the truth and, just as coldly, sometimes an untruth as if it were the truth. The voice is that of a gentleman, rather severe, like that of a superior British officer in the colonies.

An entirely different type is represented by the announcer of the American station KGEL. He is a hearty fellow, who almost certainly makes violent movements of the body while speaking. His voice sounds slightly admonitory, as, indeed, with many American

speakers. It is the voice of a reporter used to sending out sensational news into the world, hurrying, lively, with a decidedly optimistic undertone. It knows neither punctuation nor pause for breath; is not at all melodramatic but nevertheless rich in modulation. It sounds like the yells from the bleachers of a baseball game. It seems to report without any semblance of order. But the careful listener feels that this medley is well-prepared, that there is method behind it.

I also listen with pleasure to the Khabarovsk RV15 transmitter. The announcer seems to be a regular fellow, at least judging by his voice: it thunders through the ether, loud, powerful, and clear. I am sure that, when speaking, he often clenches his fist and is almost carried away by his own words: he even outdoes himself. He seems to carry all of Siberia within himself as a sounding-board. He is one of the announcers one can really understand without difficulty; for he speaks slowly and will not be hurried. I am sure he does not perspire while speaking; one is conscious of his reserves of strength. His voice is unaffected and deep: a Russian bass!

Besides this man the Khabarovsk station also has a girl who announces. As a rule I do not care for women announcers, since nearly all of them have something pretentious in their voices. But this girl is an exception: her voice is soft and undulating, very agreeable, with something refined and womanly about it. She really should not speak about a subject so full of horrors as politics, but rather about farming or care of children. It is an ideal voice for a kindergarten teacher. What a pity that television is not more widespread, for I should like to have a look at that girl, especially at her eyes—they must be sad but shining.

I have just remembered that I have not yet told you my name. Every station has a name made up of some mysterious letters. Why should I not have one? I christen myself with the calling-letters:

ECCE.



## DOCUMENTS OF THE SUMMER

*The curtain rose on the current act of the world drama on June 22 at two o'clock in the morning (Central European Standard Time, which will be used throughout for events in Europe), when German troops crossed the Soviet border. At 3:30 p.m. Propaganda Minister Goebbels read over the radio the Fuehrer's proclamation which explained to the German nation the background and reasons for the new war.*

*After a summary of the events since the Great War the proclamation turned to the German-Soviet pact of August 1939 and stated:*

"National Socialists! At that time you probably all felt that it was a bitter and difficult step for me to take. Never did the German people harbor hostile feelings for the people of Russia. Yet for over 20 years the Jewish Bolshevik rulers in Moscow have endeavoured to set aflame not only Germany but the whole of Europe. At no time did Germany attempt to carry her National Socialist ideas and conceptions into Russia, yet the Jewish Bolshevik rulers in Moscow unswervingly endeavoured to force their domination upon us and upon other European nations not only by ideological means but above all with military force.

The consequences of the activity of this regime were nothing but chaos, misery and starvation in all countries.

I, on the other hand, have been striving for 20 years with the minimum of intervention and without destroying our production to arrive at a new socialist order in Germany which would not only eliminate unemployment but would also permit workers to receive a greater share of the fruits of their labor.

The success of this policy of economic and social reconstruction of our nation, which aims finally at a true people's community by systematically eliminating differences of rank and class, is unique in the entire world.

It was, therefore, only with extreme difficulty that in August, 1939, I brought myself to send my Foreign Minister to Moscow in an endeavour there to oppose the British encirclement policy against Germany.

I did this not only from my sense of responsibility towards the German people, but

above all in the hope of achieving, after all, a permanent relief of tension and of being able to reduce sacrifices which might otherwise have been demanded of us.

While Germany solemnly affirmed in Moscow that the territories and countries mentioned—with the exception of Lithuania—lay beyond all German political interests, a special agreement was concluded in case Britain were to succeed in inciting Poland actually to go to war against Germany.

In this case, too, the German claims were subject to limitations entirely out of proportion to the achievements of the German forces.

National Socialists! The consequences of this treaty, which I myself had desired and which had been concluded in the interests of the German nation, were very severe indeed, particularly for the Germans living in the countries concerned.

Far more than 500,000 German men and women—all of them small farmers, artisans, workmen—were forced to leave their former homeland practically overnight in order to escape from the new regime which from the very first threatened them with boundless misery. Nevertheless thousands of Germans disappeared. It was impossible ever to determine their fate, let alone their whereabouts.

Among them there were no less than 160 men of German citizenship. To all this, I remained silent because I was forced to. For after all, it was my one desire to achieve the final relief of tension and, if possible, a permanent settlement with this state."

*At this point the proclamation stated that the Soviet Union, contrary to the treaty with Germany, suddenly claimed Lithuania. Germany complied with this demand and after*

*her victory in Poland addressed another offer of peace to the Western powers. This found no response because Britain still hoped to mobilize a European coalition including the Balkans and the USSR against Germany. For this purpose Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to Moscow. After briefly mentioning the Finno-Russian war, the proclamation came to the question of Russian troop concentrations:*

"Those in power in the Kremlin immediately went further. Whereas in the spring of 1940 Germany, in accordance with the so-called pact of friendship, had withdrawn her forces a long way from the eastern frontier and had in fact cleared a large part of these territories entirely of German troops, concentration of Russian forces at that time was already beginning in a measure which could only be regarded as a deliberate threat to Germany.

According to a statement which Molotov himself made at that time, there were 22 Russian divisions alone in the Baltic States in the spring of 1940. Since the Russian Government always maintained that Russian troops were called in by the local population, the purpose of their presence in that area could therefore only be a demonstration against Germany.

While our soldiers from May 10, 1940 onwards had been breaking the power of resistance of France and Britain in the west, the Russian military development on our eastern frontier was being continued to an ever more menacing extent.

From August, 1940 onwards, I therefore considered it to be in the interest of the Reich no longer to permit our eastern provinces, which moreover had already been laid waste so often, to remain unprotected in the face of this tremendous concentration of Bolshevik divisions.

Thus the effect intended by British and Soviet Russian co-operation was accomplished, that is the binding of such powerful German forces in the east that a radical conclusion of the war in the west, particularly as regards aircraft, could no longer be vouched for by the German High Command.

This, however, was in line with the objects of not only British but also Soviet policy, for both Britain and Soviet Russia intend to let this war go on for as long as possible in order to weaken the whole of Europe and render it still more helpless."

*The proclamation explained how Soviet demands on Rumania led to the Molotov visit in Berlin:*

"Contrary to our principles and customs, and at the urgent request of the Rumanian Government then in power, which itself was responsible for this development, I advised acquiescence to the Soviet Union demands for the sake of peace, intimating that Bessarabia should be ceded.

The Rumanian Government believed, however, that it could not answer its own people for this unless Germany and Italy would at least in compensation guarantee the integrity of what still remained of Rumania. I did so with a heavy heart. Principally because, if the German Reich gives its guarantee, that means that it will also abide by it. I still believed at this late hour that I had served the cause of peace in that region, if only by assuming a serious obligation myself.

In order, however, to solve these problems and achieve clarity concerning Russia's attitude towards Germany as well as under the pressure of the continually increasing mobilization on our eastern frontier, I invited Molotov to come to Berlin.

The Soviet Foreign Commissar then requested Germany's clarification of or agreement to the following four questions:

Molotov's first question was: Is Germany's guarantee for Rumania also directed against Soviet Russia in case of an attack by Soviet Russia on Rumania?

My answer: The German guarantee is a general one and is unconditionally binding upon us. Russia, however, had declared to us that she had no other interests in Rumania beyond Bessarabia. The occupation of Northern Bukovina had already been a violation of this assurance. I did not, therefore, think Russia could now suddenly have more far-reaching intentions against Rumania.

Molotov's second question: Russia again felt menaced by Finland. Russia was determined not to tolerate this. Was Germany ready not to give any aid to Finland, and above all, to withdraw the German relief troops marching through to Kirkenes?

My answer: Germany continued to have absolutely no political interests in Finland. A new war waged by Russia against the small Finnish people could not, however, be regarded any longer by the German Government as tolerable, all the more so as we could never believe Russia to feel threatened by Finland. But we had no desire that another theater of war should arise in the Baltic.

Molotov's third question: Was Germany prepared to agree that Russia should give a guarantee to Bulgaria and should send Soviet Russian troops to Bulgaria for this purpose,

whereas he, Molotov, wished to state that they did not intend on that account, for instance, to depose the King?

My answer: That Bulgaria was a sovereign state and I had no knowledge that Bulgaria had requested Soviet Russia for any kind of guarantee as Rumania had requested Germany. Moreover I would have to discuss the matter with my allies.

Molotov's fourth question was to the following effect: Soviet Russia required free passage through the Dardanelles under all circumstances, and for her protection also demanded that she be allowed to occupy a number of important bases in the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. Would Germany agree to that or not?

My answer: Germany was at all times prepared to agree to an alteration of the Statute of Montreux in favor of the Black Sea States. Germany was not prepared to assent to Russia's occupying bases in the Straits.

National Socialists! In this situation I adopted the only attitude which I could as a responsible Leader of the Reich, but also as a representative of European culture and civilisation."

*The proclamation accused the Soviet Union of attempts to remove the Bulgarian Government by means of propaganda and to undermine the new Rumanian State from within, which led to the unsuccessful coup d'état against General Antoncescu. Further Soviet troop concentrations in dangerous proximity of the German frontier followed.*

"The German forces and the German nation know that until a few weeks ago not a single German tank or mechanized division was stationed on our eastern frontier.

Had any proof been required for the coalition meanwhile formed between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, this proof was given by the Yugoslav conflict, notwithstanding all attempts at diversion and camouflage.

Whilst I made every effort in attempting to pacify the Balkans, and invited Yugoslavia to join the Tripartite Pact, in sympathetic co-operation with the Duce, Great Britain and Soviet Russia in joint conspiracy organized the *coup d'état* which in one night removed the government which had been willing to come to an agreement. For today we can inform the German nation that the Serbian putsch against Germany did not take place merely under British, but primarily under Soviet Russian auspices.

Since we remained silent on this matter, Soviet leaders went still another step further. They not only organized this putsch but a few days later concluded the well-known

agreement with their new subservient vassals which was intended to strengthen the Serbs in their desire to resist pacification of the Balkans and to incite them against Germany. This was no platonic intention: Moscow demanded the mobilization of the Serbian army.

As even at that time I still believed it better not to speak to those in power in the Kremlin, they went still further ahead: The Government of the German Reich today possesses documentary evidence which proves that Soviet Russia in order to induce Serbia finally to go to war against Germany promised to supply her with arms, munitions, aircraft and other war material via Salonica. And all this happened at the very moment I myself advised the Japanese Foreign Minister, Yosuke Matsuoka, to ease the tension with Russia, hoping as I did thus to serve the cause of peace.

Only the rapid advance of our divisions to Skoplje as well as the capture of Salonica itself frustrated the aims of this Soviet Russian—Anglo-Saxon plot.

Officers of the Serbian air-force who fled to Soviet Russia were received there as allies. It was the victory of the Axis powers in the Balkans alone which thwarted this plan to involve Germany in battles in southeastern Europe lasting for months throughout the summer while in the meantime Soviet Russia was to complete the alignment of her forces along the border and improve their preparations for war in order to be able with Britain supported by American supplies, finally to throttle Germany and Italy.

Thus Moscow not only broke but also miserably betrayed the stipulations of our friendly agreement. All this was done whilst the rulers in the Kremlin, exactly as they had done in the case of Finland and Rumania, up to the last moment put up a show of friendship and peace and published innocent dements.

Although up till now I have been forced by circumstances to keep silent again and again, the moment has now arrived when to continue being a mere observer would not only be a sin of omission but a crime against the German people, and even against the whole of Europe. Today approximately 160 divisions are facing our frontier.

For weeks, constant frontier violations on the part of Soviet troops have taken place not only into our territory but from the Far North down to Rumania. Russian army men consider it a sport simply and nonchalantly to overlook these frontiers, presumably in order to prove to us that they already consider themselves masters of these regions. In the night of June 17 to June 18, Russian reconnaissance patrols could only be driven off by prolonged firing.



This has brought us to an hour when it has become necessary for us to take steps against this plot devised by Jewish—Anglo-Saxon war-mongers and to an equal extent by Jewish rulers of the Bolsheviki centre in Moscow.

German people! At this very hour movements of our troops are taking place, the magnitude of which is the greatest the world has ever witnessed. United with their Finnish comrades, the German warriors who brought about the victory at Narvik, are manning the shores of the Arctic Ocean. German divisions commanded by the Conqueror of Norway together with the champions of Finnish Liberty, under the command of their Marshal, are protecting Finnish territory. From East Prussia down to the Carpathians extends the front of the German formations in the east.

Along the shores of the Pruth, along the lower reaches of the Danube, down to the shores of the Black Sea, German and Rumanian soldiers are united under the Rumanian Chief of State, General Antonescu.

The task of this front thus no longer consists in the protection of individual countries but aims at safe-guarding Europe and means the rescue of us all.

I have therefore decided today to entrust the fate and future of the German Reich and the German nation to the hands of our soldiers.

May God, our Lord, aid us in this greatest of all struggles.

(signed) Adolf Hitler, June 22, 1941."

*In the first two years of the present war there have been many curious parallels with the Great War of 1914-18. This is particularly the case in the clash between Germany and Russia. On August 1, 1914, the Kaiser's Government declared war on Russia on very similar grounds as Hitler's Government did now. In 1914 Germany explained her declaration of war by the general mobilization of Russia, in 1941 with the threatening massing of Soviet troops on the western border of the USSR. In both cases it was a question of speed against mass.*

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*The Kremlin gave its answer to Germany in two installments: the first was a radio speech by V. Molotov, the Premier and Foreign Commissar of the USSR, at 11:16 a.m., June 22. (Hence Molotov spoke before Goebbels had broadcast the Fuehrer's proclamation. Molotov's speech was based on the note of the German Government which had been handed to him by the German Ambassador at 3:30 a.m. and which on the whole stressed the same points as the Fuehrer's proclama-*

*tion.) The nationalistic tone towards the end of Molotov's speech came as no surprise to those who have noted in the USSR the increase in patriotic slogans during the last few years, and which, of course, does not mean that the final aim of Bolshevism—world revolution—has been abandoned. After briefly mentioning the military activities during the first few hours of the new war, Molotov said:*

"The attack on our country has been made in spite of the fact that throughout the time this pact was valid the German Government could not furnish proof that the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has ever infringed a single one of the clauses of the pact. All responsibility for this robber attack on the Soviet Union falls on the German-Fascist leader.

After the attack the German Ambassador in Moscow, Friedrich Werner Count von der Schulenburg, at 5:30 a.m. gave me, as People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, a Note in the name of his Government that the German Government had decided to proceed against the Soviet Union because of a concentration of units of the Red Army on the German frontier. In answer to this, I declared in the name of the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics that until the last minute the German Government had made no representation to the Soviet Government. Germany decided to attack the Soviet Union in spite of the peaceful attitude of the Soviet Union, and because of this very fact Fascist Germany becomes the aggressor.

I have also to announce that at not a single point have our forces or our air force allowed any frontier to be violated and because of that allegations of the Rumanian radio that the Soviet air force raided Rumanian airdromes today is nothing but a lie and a provocation. In the same way, the whole of Hitler's declaration published today is nothing but a provocation.

Now, when this attack on the Soviet Union has taken place, the Soviet Government has given our forces the following order: Beat back the enemy's invasion and do not allow enemy forces to hold territory of our country! This war has been forced upon us not by the German people, not by the German workers or the intelligentsia whose problems we thoroughly understand, but by a clique of bloodthirsty Fascist leaders of Germany who have oppressed the French, Czechs, Poles, Serbs, Norwegians, Belgians, Danes, Dutch, Greeks and other nations.

The Government of the Soviet Union is firmly convinced that our gallant Army and Navy, supported by the Soviet Air Force,

will honorably fulfil their duties to the Soviet people and will deal a complete blow to the aggressor. This is not the first time that our country has had to deal with an arrogant invading foe. When Napoleon invaded Russia, our country answered with a nationalist war and Napoleon was beaten and met his doom. The same thing will happen to arrogant Hitler who has started this new attack on our country.

The Red Army and the whole country will once again wage a victorious war for the nation's honour and liberty. The Government of the Soviet Union is convinced that the whole population of our country, all workers, peasants and intelligentsia, men and women, will act with complete understanding of their duties and work. All our people must be united as never before. Everyone of us must demand from himself and from others discipline, organization and self-sacrifice worthy of a true Soviet patriot in order to fulfil all needs of the Red Army, Fleet and Air Force and to guarantee victory over the enemy. The Government relies upon all citizens, men and women, of the Soviet Union." (Reuter, China Press, June 23.)

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*The second and more weighty Soviet statement was made by Stalin himself on July 2 after the first great German victories had become known. First he explained the Russian reverses:*

"The fact of the matter is that the troops of Germany as a country at war, were already fully mobilized, and the 170 divisions hurled by Germany against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and brought up to the Soviet frontiers were in a state of complete readiness, only awaiting the signal to move into action, whereas Soviet troops had still to effect mobilization and move up to the frontiers.

Of no little importance in this respect is the fact that Fascist Germany suddenly and treacherously violated the non-aggression pact she concluded in 1939 with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, disregarding the fact that she would be regarded as the aggressor by the whole world. Naturally, our peace-loving country, not wishing to take the initiative of breaking the pact, couldn't resort to perfidy."

*Stalin repeated a number of Molotov's points, he explained the Red Army's strategy of withdrawal, and urged the destruction of everything in territories which had to be abandoned to the Germans. He demanded a guerrilla war in the rear of the German armies, increased output of war materials,*

*and a ruthless campaign within the USSR against spies, saboteurs, rumor-spreaders, and disorganizers. He ended his speech by appealing to rally—not around "Little Mother Russia" as some had expected—but around the Communist Party and the Soviet Government:*

"The State Committee of Defense has entered in its functions and calls upon all our people to rally around the party of Lenin-Stalin and around the Soviet Government so as self-denyingly to support the Red Army and Navy, demolish the enemy and secure victory.

All our forces for support of our heroic Red Army and our glorious Red Navy.

All the forces of the people—for demolition of the enemy!

Forward, to our victory!" (U.P., New York Times, July 4.)

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*The Polish question has developed along lines strikingly similar to those in the Great War. In both cases the territories inhabited by Poles and formerly belonging to Imperial Russia or to the USSR had been occupied by the German forces. In both cases the Eastern Poles hated the Russians—in 1914 after a century and a quarter, in 1941 after not quite two years of Russian domination. In both cases it was necessary from the Russian point of view somehow to win Polish sympathy and to make the world forget the previous Tsarist and Bolshevik tyranny over the Poles.*

*At the beginning of the Great War the Grand Duke Nicholas promised the Poles in a proclamation that the war would lead to the granting of Polish self-government, and appealed to the Poles for their assistance in the war. This promise was confirmed by the Tsar and became part of the official government program. But the Poles always suspected the sincerity of the Russians. Their fears were confirmed when Sazonov, the Russian Foreign Minister, was dismissed because of his far-reaching schemes for Polish autonomy. In the end they won their independence and frontiers only after a bloody war with the Russians (1920).*

*In 1941 Russia again made a promise to Poland in a pact signed in London at 4 p.m., July 30, by the Soviet Ambassador and the refugee Polish Government. The pact declared:*

"1. The territorial changes in Poland as a result of Soviet-German treaties of 1939 are void;

2. Mutual aid and support of all kind is pledged in the present war against Hitlerite Germany;

3. Provision is made for the formation of a Polish legion in Russia, under a Polish commander;

4. Russia will grant amnesty to all Polish prisoners of war and others detained on sufficient grounds in the Soviet Union." (Reuter, North China Daily News, July 31.)

Thus the Soviet Union promised to give up the territorial gains which she had made at Poland's expense in the autumn of 1939 and which she has meanwhile lost to the German armies. For this the Poles must pay by fighting for the Soviet Union. That this latter was the main point of the agreement was clearly stated by Mr. Eden when, on July 31, he answered a question in Parliament with the words, "We have had in mind throughout the negotiation the enormous value to the Allied cause of raising and equipping rapidly a Polish army in Russia." (Reuter, London, July 31.) A military agreement between the USSR and the Poles in London providing for the formation of a Polish army in the USSR was duly signed on August 15.

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The parallel does not end here. On September 5, 1914, Russia, England, and France promised each other in the "Pact of London" that none of them would conclude a separate peace and that they would fight on together to final victory. On July 12, 1941, the same thing happened again, this time, of course, without the signature of France. This "Agreement for Joint Action" reads:

"1. The two Governments have undertaken to render each other assistance and support of all kinds in the present war against Hitlerite Germany; and, 2. They have undertaken that during this war they will neither negotiate nor conclude an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement.

The two contracting parties have agreed that this agreement enters into force as from the moment of signature and is not subject to ratification.

The agreement was concluded on the evening of July 12, and was signed, by authority of the British Government, by Sir Stafford Cripps, British Ambassador to Moscow, and, by authority of the Government of the USSR, by M. Molotoff, the Soviet Foreign Commissar.

The agreement was concluded in English and Russian." (Reuter, Shanghai Times, July 14.)

The "Pact of London" of 1914 lasted almost exactly three and a half years, until Russia, defeated and tried of fighting the British war, broke her promise by signing the separate peace of Brest Litovsk with Germany on March 3, 1918. How long is the new pact

going to last? The Soviet Union is fulfilling her part of the bargain as promised in the agreement's first point. It is indeed rendering tremendous assistance to the British cause and paying dearly for it. But where, the Russians will ask, is the assistance promised by Great Britain? Apart from raids by the RAF on northern France and western Germany and a brief British raid in the Arctic, hardly anything has been done, while the USSR is losing many thousands of men and an average of almost ten thousand square kilometers every day.

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Here America was called in to strengthen the Russian morale by hope for aid. During their Atlantic meeting President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill sent a joint letter to Stalin. In it the Russians are told a number of very obvious facts and a meeting of representatives of the three Powers in Moscow is suggested. When reading the letter Stalin must have looked for the word "act," and when he found it in one of the very last lines of the message he discovered that it was used most cautiously and that the "action" was to consist of "planning a program." The letter said:

"We have taken the opportunity afforded by consideration of the report by Mr. Harry Hopkins on his return from Moscow to consult together as to how best our two countries can help your country in the splendid defense you are making against the Nazi attack.

We at the moment are co-operating to provide you with the very maximum of supplies that you most urgently need. Already many shiploads have left our shores and more will leave in the immediate future. We must now turn our minds to consideration of a more long-term policy since there is still a long, hard path to be traversed before there can be won a complete victory without which our efforts and sacrifices would be wasted.

The war goes on upon many fronts and before it is over there may be further fighting fronts that will be developed. Our resources, though immense, are limited and it must become a question as to where and when those resources can be used best to further to the greatest extent our common effort. This applies equally to manufactured war supplies and war materials.

The needs and demands of your and our armed services can only be determined in the light of full knowledge of many factors which must be taken into consideration in the decisions we make. In order that all of us may be in a position to arrive at speedy decisions as to apportionment of our joint resources, we suggest that we prepare for a meeting to be held in Moscow to which we



would send high representatives who could discuss these matters directly with you. If this conference appeals to you we want you to know that pending decisions of that conference we shall continue to send supplies and material as rapidly as possible.

We realize fully how vitally important to the defeat of Hitlerism is the brave, steadfast resistance of the Soviet Union and we feel, therefore, that we must not in any circumstances fail to act quickly and immediately in this matter of planning a program for future allocation of our joint resources.

Signed:—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill." (U.P., Shanghai Evening Post, August 16.)

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*While all eyes were focused on the broad plains of eastern Europe, events of great importance—not only for the Pacific area but also for the world as a whole—were taking place in the Far East. On July 15 the Government of unoccupied France had published the Syrian armistice which it had been forced to sign. The English-French relations were badly strained and the French Government feared a repetition of the Syrian experience in other parts of her colonial empire. At the same time Japan was anxious to establish bases in the strategically important southern part of French Indo-China. In the second half of July it became known that France and Japan were negotiating an accord on Indo-China. On July 27 the Vichy Government issued a statement explaining the reasons for such action and reminding the French of the recent events in Syria:*

"It is absolutely necessary that French public opinion should be given exact particulars on the significance, bearing, and practical consequences of the Franco-Japanese agreements concerning Indo-China.

It is known that, according to the terms of the agreement of May 9, 1941, the Japanese could temporarily use the harbor facilities of Haiphong and concentrate troops and material at certain points in Tonking. It must be noted that there is no question of the surrender of bases, for this would imply abandoning the sovereignty and rights over the territory of such bases, which is not the case.

In the port of Haiphong in particular, the Japanese could use for a fixed period certain wharves, pontoons, and transportation facilities; but French authority, both civil and military, is maintained.

There is a great difference between the cession and the utilization of bases. In the first case the principle of sovereignty is affected; in the second the effect is only partial and temporary.

There is no analogy between the aggression in Syria and the Indo-China affair. In Syria, without seeking a previous discussion with the French Government, the British invaded our territory, publicly declaring their intention of driving us out of the country, which, moreover, they did.

Japan, on the contrary, first of all explained her point of view and through friendly negotiations sought for the terms of an agreement. She also—and this is the most important point of all—solemnly affirmed her intention of recognizing, both for the present and for the future, the integrity of the Federation of Indo-China and French sovereignty over all parts of this Federation. In other words Japan, afraid of complications in the situation in the southern part of the Far East, asks of us facilities of a strategic and military nature destined to protect her economy, for Japan is in urgent need of rice from Indo-China in order to feed her own population.

It is likely that these facilities will be made use of with the least possible delay, mainly by movements of Japanese troops from Tonking to Annam and Cochin-China; by the use of roads and possibly even railways for some days and of landing-points on Indo-Chinese territory; finally by stationing of Japanese units at mutually agreed upon positions.

It is necessary that the public be given exact information about the military consequences of the recently concluded agreement: in this frank and accurate statement of facts will be found the best defense against a propaganda which seeks to undermine confidence and to sow confusion in the minds of the public." (Havas Telemondial, Transl. from Journal de Shanghai, July 30.)

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*Two days later, on July 29, the Agreement itself was published. It read:*

"The Imperial Japanese Government and the Government of France, taking into consideration the present international situation, recognize as a result that there exist reasons for Japan to consider that in case the security of French Indo-China should be threatened, general tranquility in East Asia and her own security would be exposed to danger.

The opportunity is taken to renew the promise made by Japan on the one hand, to respect the rights and interests of France in East Asia, especially the territorial integrity of French Indo-China and French sovereignty over the whole Union of French Indo-China; and the promise made by France on the other hand not to conclude with any third power or powers an agreement or understanding regarding Indo-China envisaging

political, economic, or military co-operation directly or indirectly aimed against Japan, and the two Governments have agreed upon the following provisions:

1. The two Governments mutually promise military co-operation for the joint defence of French Indo-China.

2. Measures to be taken for such co-operation shall be the object of special arrangements.

3. The above stipulations shall be valid only so long as the situation which motivated their adoption exists.

In witness thereof, the undersigned, having been duly authorized by the respective Governments, have signed and affixed their seals to the present protocol to go into effect from today.

Done at Vichy in duplicate in the Japanese and French languages, this twenty-ninth day of July, the sixteenth year of Showa, corresponding to the twenty-ninth day of July, 1941." (Domei, North China Daily News, July 30.)

*On the morning of July 31, the Japanese occupation of strategic Cam Ranh Bay began.*

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*The opponents of the Axis took measures as soon as they became aware of Japan's latest move. As early as July 25, Under-secretary of State Sumner Welles issued a sharp statement to the Japanese Ambassador, and the following day the White House and the U.S. Treasury issued the following identical statement concerning the freezing of Japanese Assets in the United States:*

"In view of the unlimited national emergency declared by the President, he has today (Friday) issued an Executive Order freezing Japanese assets in the United States in the same manner in which the assets of various European countries were frozen on June 14, 1941.

This measure, in effect, brings all financial and import and export trade transactions in which Japanese interests are involved under control of the Government and imposes criminal penalties for violation of the order.

This Executive Order, just as the order of June 14, 1941, was designed among other things to prevent use of financial facilities of the United States and trade between Japan and the United States in ways harmful to national defence and American interests, to prevent liquidation in the United States of assets obtained by duress or conquest, and to curb subversive activities in the United States.

At the specific request of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and for the purpose of helping the Chinese Government, the President has at the same time extended freezing control to Chinese assets in the United States.

Administration of the licensing system with respect to Chinese assets will be conducted with the view of strengthening the foreign trade and exchange position of the Chinese Government. Inclusion of China in the Executive Order in accordance with the wishes of the Chinese Government is a continuation of this Government's policy of assisting China." (U.P., North China Daily News, July 27.)

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*Great Britain acted likewise and the Netherlands East Indies followed by suspending exchange and trade with Japan. This move was announced in the statement of the Director of Economic Affairs to the People's Council in Batavia on July 28.*

1. Foreign exchange between the N.E.I. and Japan are suspended.
2. All exports from the N.E.I. to the Japanese Empire, Manchukuo, China and Indo-China are liable to special licences.
3. Banks are forbidden to pay or receive values on accounts of Japanese subjects without special permits from the Director of Economic Affairs." (North China Daily News, July 29.)

*By now the tension in the Western Pacific had greatly increased. Admonitions flew back and forth across the Pacific. Japan stopped sending her ships to America and is looking with deep suspicion upon the dispatch of American oil to Vladivostok.*

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*Ever since the military collapse of France in the summer of 1940 a bitter struggle has been fought for the soul of France. Great Britain and the United States have never lost hope of winning her away from growing co-operation with Germany. As far as Marshal Petain and the present Government of unoccupied France are concerned, this hope has little chance of fulfilment. Marshal Petain made this quite clear in his most important speech to date, delivered on August 12, in which he said:*

"Frenchmen, I have grave things to tell you. In an atmosphere of false rumors and intrigues veritable uneasiness is gripping the people of France. My name is invoked too often even against the Government to justify alleged beneficial undertakings which are in fact appeals to indiscipline.

It is easy to understand the reason for this uneasiness. When war continues on the frontiers of a nation which defeat has put *hors de combat* but whose empire remains vulnerable everyone asks himself with anguish, "What is the future of my country?" Insidious propaganda adding to the confusion of the spirit, a sense of national interest ends by losing its rightness and its vigour.

Our relations with Germany are by an armistice convention whose character could only be provisional. Prolongation of this situation renders it more difficult to support since it governs relations between two great nations. As to the collaboration offered in October, 1940 by the Chancellor of the German Reich, under conditions, the great courtesy of which I appreciate, it is a work of slow development and could not yet bear all its fruits. We must know how to orientate ourselves towards the larger horizon which a reconciled continent can open up to our activities. That is the end to which we are guiding our efforts. But it is a huge task calling for our will and our patience.

With regard to Italy our relations are also regulated by an armistice convention. Here again our wish is to escape from these provisional relations and establish more stable bonds without which the European order cannot be built up again.

I would like to recall to the great American republic the reasons why she need not fear a decline of French ideals. Our parliamentary Democracy which is dead had few traits in common with the Democracy of the United States but the instinct of freedom still lives in us proud and strong. Our difficulties and mistakes arise above all from troubled minds, lack of men and scarcity of products.

Disturbance of our spirit does not only arise from the vicissitudes of our foreign policy but above all from our slowness in reconstructing the new order. The national revolution has not yet become a fact. This is because between the people and myself rose a double barrier raised by the upholders of the old regime and the servants of the trusts. Long delay will be necessary to conquer resistance of all these adversaries to the new order but we must from now on break their undertakings by decimating their leaders.

If France failed to understand that she is bound by the force of events to change the regime of yesterday she would see open at her feet the abyss into which the Spain of

1936 nearly disappeared, only saving herself by sacrifice of faith and youth.

In the light of experience I shall rectify the work and shall take up again against egoistic and blind capitalism the struggle that the Kings of France waged and won against feudalism.

I wish that our country shall be freed from a most despicable tutelage, that of money."

*Next the Marshal summed up his immediate program of political action in the following points: Activities of all parties and political groups are suspended in unoccupied France; salaries of members of Parliament are abolished from September 30; sanctions will be taken against civil servants who are Free Masons and holders of high Masonic rank will be excluded from public functions; powers at the disposal of the police will be doubled; commissioners will be entrusted with discovering and destroying administrative organization and activities of secret societies; powers of regional prefects will be strengthened.*

*A labour charter will be promulgated shortly; a provisional statute for economic organization will be remodeled; organization for food supply will be altered; a council of political justice will be set up in order to speed up trials of those responsible for the disaster, its proposals to be submitted to the Marshal before October 15; all Ministers and high officials must take the oath to Marshal Petain. Then he continued:*

"The problem of Government goes beyond the framework of a simple ministerial reshuffle. It requires above all the rigid upholding of certain principles. Authority no longer comes from below. It is properly that which I confide and delegate.

I delegate it in the first place to Admiral Darlan, towards whom opinion has not shown itself either always favourable or always fair, but who has never ceased to help me with his loyalty and courage. I have entrusted him with the Ministry of National Defence so that he can exert over the whole of our land, sea and air forces more direct control.

To the Government which surrounds him I shall leave the necessary initiative. I mean however to lay down for it in certain spheres a very clear line." (Reuter, North China Daily News, Aug. 14.)